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WHEN THE WAR IS OVER[1]

MAURICE MAETERLINCK

I

BEFORE the close of this war, whose days of grief and horror appear to be numbered, let us for the last time weigh in our minds those words of hatred and malediction which it has very often wrung from us!

We have to do with the strangest of enemies. *He has knowingly and deliberately, while in the full possession of his faculties and without necessity or excuse, revived all the crimes which we supposed to be forever buried in the barbarous past.* He has trampled under foot all the precepts which man had so painfully won from the cruel darkness of his beginnings; *he has violated all the laws of justice, humanity, loyalty and honor, from the highest, which are almost godlike, to the simplest, the most elementary, which still belong to the lower worlds.* There is no longer any doubt on this point: it has been proved over and over again until we have attained a final certitude.

But, on the other hand, *it is no less certain that he has displayed virtues which it would be unworthy of us to deny;* for we honor ourselves in recognizing the valor of those whom we are fighting. *He has gone to his death in deep, compact, disciplined masses, with a blind, hopeless, obstinate heroism, of which no such lurid example had ever yet been known* and which has many times compelled our admiration and our pity. *He has known how to sacrifice himself,* with unprecedented and perhaps *unequalled abnegation,* to an idea which we know to be false,

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inhuman and even somewhat mean, but which he believes to be just and lofty; and a sacrifice of this kind, whatever its object, is always the proof of a force which survives those who devote themselves to making it, and must command respect.

I know very well that this heroism is not like the heroism which we love. For us, heroism must before all be voluntary, freed from any constraint, active, ardent, eager and spontaneous; whereas with them it has mingled with it a great deal of servility, passiveness, sadness, gloomy, ignorant, massive submission and rather base fears. It is nevertheless the fact that, in the moment of supreme peril, little remains of all these distinctions and that no force in the world can drive to its death a people which does not bear within itself the strength to confront it.

Our soldiers make no mistake upon this point. Question the men returning from the trenches: *they detest the enemy, they abhor the aggressor,* the unjust and arrogant aggressor, uncouth, too often cruel and treacherous; *but they do not hate the man: they do him justice; they pity him; and,* after the battle, *in the defenceless wounded soldier or disarmed prisoner they recognize,* with astonishment, *a brother* in misfortune who, like themselves, is submitting to duties and laws which, like themselves, he too believes lofty and necessary. Under the insufferable enemy they see an unhappy man who likewise is bearing the burden of life. They forget the things that divide them to recall only those which unite them in a common destiny; and they teach us a great lesson.

Better than ourselves, who are far from danger, at the contact of profound and fearful verities and realities they are already beginning to discern something that we cannot yet perceive; and their obscure instinct is probably anticipating the judgment of history and our own judgment, when we see more clearly. *Let us learn from* them to be just and *to distinguish that which we are bound to despise* and loathe *from that which we may pity, love and respect.*

Setting aside the unpardonable aggression and the inexpiable violation of treaties, *this war,* despite its insanity, *has come near*

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to being a bloody but magnificent proof of greatness, heroism and the spirit of sacrifice. Humanity was ready to rise above itself, to surpass all that it had hitherto accomplished. It has surpassed it. Never before had nations been seen capable, for months in succession, perhaps for years, of *renouncing their repose, their security, their wealth, their comfort, all that they possessed and loved, down to their very life in order to accomplish what they believed to be their duty.* Never before had nations been seen that were able as a whole to understand and admit that the happiness of each of those who live in this time of trial is of no consequence compared with the honor of those who live no more or the happiness of those who are not yet alive. *We stand on heights that had not been attained before.* And, if, on the enemies' side, this unexampled renunciation had not been poisoned at its source; if the war which they are waging against us had been as fine, as loyal, as generous, as chivalrous as that which we are waging against them, we may well believe that it would have been the last and that it would have ended, not in battle, but like the awakening from an evil dream, in a noble and fraternal amazement. They have made that impossible; and this, we may be sure, is the disappointment which the future will find it most difficult to forgive them.

What are we to do now? *Must we hate the enemy to the end of time? The burden of hatred is the heaviest that man can bear upon this earth;* and we should faint under the weight of it. On the other hand, we do not wish once more to be the dupes and victims of confidence and love. Here again *our soldiers, in their simplicity,* which is so clear-seeing and so close to the truth, *anticipate the future* and teach us what to admit and what to avoid. We have seen that *they do not hate the man; but they do not trust him at all. They discover the human being in him only when he is unarmed. They know, from bitter experience, that, so long as he possesses weapons, he cannot resist the frenzy of destruction, treachery and slaughter;* and that he does not become kindly until he is rendered powerless.

Is he thus by nature, or has he been perverted by those who lead him? Have the rulers dragged the whole nation after them, or has the whole nation driven its rulers on? Did the

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rulers make the nation like unto themselves, or did the nation select and support them because they resembled itself? Did the evil come from above or below, or was it everywhere? Here we have the great and obscure point of this terrible adventure. It is not easy to throw light upon it and still less easy to find excuses for it. If our enemies prove that they were deceived and corrupted by their masters, they prove, at the same time, that they are less intelligent, less firmly attached to justice, honor and humanity than we; in a word, that they are inferior to those whom they claimed the right to enslave in the name of a superiority that did not exist; and, unless they can establish that their errors, perfidies and cruelties are to be imputed only to those masters, then they themselves must bear the pitiless weight. I do not know how they will escape from this predicament, nor what the future will decide, that future which is wiser than the past, even as, in the words of an old Slav proverb, the dawn is wiser than the evening. In the meanwhile, let us copy the prudence of our soldiers, who know what to believe far better than we do.

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ABUSING "FREEDOM OF SPEECH"

ROGER B. WOOD
Assistant United States Attorney of New York

[*There have been times in the past year when American citizens have asked themselves how much farther foreign plotters could go in defiance of American Law. Arson, murder, bomb plots, followed in quick succession. The outrages by foreign plotters became a challenge of American sovereignty. Just when the public was exasperated to the limit, two men were brought into international prominence by answering the challenge. They were Snowden Marshall, United States Attorney, and Roger B. Wood, Assistant United States Attorney, for New York. Mr. Marshall's indictment of certain plotters brought about an impeachment by the House upon a resolution offered by an indicted Congressman; and both Mr. Marshall and Mr. Wood have been threatened with political extinction for this defence of American sovereignty and American Law, but the American public recognizes public servants, who serve the public; and the threats up to the present have only secured both federal men in public esteem.*]

A FEW years ago a great many Americans were shocked by the vicious utterances of anarchists delivered on the streets of New York and in halls frequented by agitators. Many of us quietly protested against this sowing of the seeds of discord and open advocacy of disregard for law and order. No steps were taken, however, by the law-making bodies of the State or Nation for the reason, in all probability, that any legislation to curb the anarchists might be regarded as a blow at the "Freedom of Speech."

There were instances a few years ago of insults to "The Flag," but, happily, these were few and far between; and a very efficient sheriff promptly took steps to prevent a repetition of such deplorable conduct.

These speeches were made and the insults offered to "The

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Flag," at a time when, broadly speaking, all the Nations of the World were at peace. Their effect at that time could not be properly measured or fully understood; and those who gave thought to the matter did not consider it likely that the seed would bear fruit for many years to come. Many forgot that only a few years ago President McKinley was assassinated by one in whose brain such seed took firm root.

Since then, a great change has come to pass, to the great detriment of all mankind. The nations of Europe are in a life and death struggle. The armies of five of the great nations have been in almost continuous conflict for practically two years. Millions of men have been destroyed, millions of wives and mothers left homeless and penniless. The terrific war goes on and the end is not yet.

This conflict of the nations started when an assassin slew a ruler whose laws he did not like and whose authority he defied. Who can tell when the seeds were sown which led to the assassin's act?

Only a few weeks ago, the Press announced that one Maurer, a so-called labor leader, in a public speech in one of our public schools said, "To hell with the Stars and Stripes." This is only another way of saying, "To hell with the United States, its government and its laws." Let us hope he was misquoted, as he claims! He is further credited with having said: "I have nothing to fight for."

It may be that Maurer is willing to have *others fight to preserve* our institutions and *to protect him* and others of his class in the extraordinary rights and privileges which they enjoy under the protection of the Flag.

In our schools, the children of the land are taught to love their country, to honor its government, obey its laws and respect its Flag. Yet this man, who is anything but an American, in a public school dared to insult every true and loyal American well knowing that there was no law to punish him for his seditious language.

No one knows how many Maurers we may have in our midst; no one can tell how many there are who secretly applauded his treasonable talk. What the effect of such speeches

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will be time alone can tell; but ought we not to take some effective measures to put a stop to the free speech of Maurer and others of his stripe? This nation cannot afford to harbor men like Maurer; and it is high time to tell them so in no uncertain tones.

I think a way may be found to deal with this situation; but what shall we do with representatives in Congress who publicly traduce the President of the United States? A few short weeks ago, when the nation was on the threshold of war with Germany and after Mr. Wilson had informed Congress of the action he proposed to take, the minority leader was reported as saying:

> "I think this government should be neutral. The President never has been neutral. He has been on the English side all the time. What he said about Germany, while it is grossly exaggerated, is a just complaint. But he could say just the same about England and our shipping, substitute 'seizing ships' for 'sinking ships.' It is a mistake to break off diplomatic relations with Germany. That is simply to quit in a pet. It is perfectly evident that the President, as a campaign political dodge, is trying to work up to a point where he can get into a war with Germany during a Presidential campaign. The truth is the President is a Scotch Presbyterian and he hates 'the Dutch.'"

Is it any wonder the New York *Sun* characterized him as "Jim Mann, the Wasp?" The arm of the law is not long enough to reach any one for such a speech. A Congressman cannot be impeached. The people of his district, however, will surely rise in their might and repudiate him as a warning to others who cherish like sentiments, if not for a stronger reason.

Every fair-minded person believes in fair, honest criticism of the public officers of our government and of our laws. If free speech be confined within its legitimate sphere no one will be heard to complain. Indeed, a useful purpose is served when the individual opinion is fairly and freely expressed upon proper subjects in a proper spirit.

If such utterances as have been attributed to Maurer and to Representative Mann are examples of free speech, then something must be done which will put a stop forever to the expression of sentiments which tend to instil hatred for our form of government and contempt for the President of the United States.

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THE NOURISHMENT OF THE PACIFISTS

SAMUEL CROWTHER

Is pacifism endowed? Is it bought and paid for—or are a few ardent enthusiasts giving their heart's blood to the "cause"? These are questions raised by Mr. Crowther, a thoroughly informed New York magazine writer. It is a question that we would like to know about. Mr. Crowther reveals the pacifists as he finds them. In a subsequent number, the Peace Party's point of view will have a hearing in The Forum.

BEING a pacifist is now a business.

The business was founded by Henry Ford last December when he announced that he was willing to devote his whole fortune to "Getting the boys out of the trenches by Christmas" and to preventing the proper armament of the United States. When Mr. Ford dangled his millions, the professional iconoclasts and agitators—the anarchists, socialists, single taxers, charity-as-a-business workers, and the whole ragtag, bob-tail crew that circles pariah-like about strikes and social disorders—at once found that they were, ardently, shriekingly, for the cause of peace.

Hundreds of societies formed over night; they represented every possible phase and every possible angle from which preparedness might be opposed. The first act of each of these societies was to write a word of encouragement to Mr. Ford and delicately to hint the appreciation which would follow a substantial subscription. And always from out of Detroit came the promise of golden help; but in very few instances has the help been bankable. While wistfully waiting the checks, the societies have collected enough subscriptions and dues from members to provide satisfactory salaries to various kinds of secretaries, collectors and assistants, to pay liberal "expenses" to speakers and to obtain publicity for the organizers.

The movement against preparedness advertises itself as a poor man's cause.

This "workingman's protest," this "spontaneous uprising

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against an attempt to place the iron heel of militarism upon the neck of the already down-trodden" and etc., etc., is spending more money than a very well financed, presidential campaign. They are spending about five times as much as the advocates of preparedness. This poor man's movement has expended about one million dollars since December, 1915, and the expenses are daily increasing!

Rather more than one-half this great sum has been contributed by Henry Ford and almost wholly in enterprises in which the name of Ford is prominently displayed. The other large contributors are the Carnegie Foundation, the Edwin Ginn Estate of Boston, and the United States Post Office. The Post Office involuntarily aids through the wholesale use of the Congressional franking privilege by Representative Tavenner of Illinois, who co-operates with Henry Ford. These are the big money bags of the pacifists; smaller money bags are to be found in every community. The pacifist propaganda lives on the fat pocketbooks; the preparedness campaign lives on the dollar offerings.

A substantial peace movement has existed in this country for many years and has enlisted the best citizenship of the land —for all good citizens are lovers of peace and especially such citizens as have been called upon to serve in actual war.

The oldest two societies are the American Peace Society and the World Peace Foundation. These societies have many pacifists in their membership, and they are both opposed to war, but a considerable number of their leading men are not opposed to a reasonable preparedness against war. Thus they find themselves divided in their councils. For instance, the American Peace Society has ex-Senator Theodore E. Burton as president and William Howard Taft as a vice-president; ranged against these two gentlemen, who are lovers of peace but believe in preparedness, are two vice-presidents who are pillars of pacifism— William Jennings Bryan and Andrew Carnegie.

Among the honorary vice-presidents one finds equally discordant fellows: Dr. Lyman Abbot, the venerable editor of the *Outlook;* Governor McCall of Massachusetts, John Bassett Moore and Dr. Charles F. Thwing, are arrayed against Miss

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Jane Addams, Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, and Dr. David Starr Jordan.

The American Peace Society was founded in 1828 and it is now well organized, with a head office in Washington and field departments in Chicago, Boston, New York, Berkeley, Cal., and Atlanta, Ga. The object of the society is "to promote permanent international peace, to educate and organize public opposition to war as a means of settling international differences and to promote, in every proper way, the general use of conciliation, judicial methods and other peaceful means of avoiding and adjusting such differences." But the policy of this society is, at the present time, not in accordance with its stated object in so far as a very considerable number of its fanatic members are concerned. The ruling policy is absolutely anti-preparedness.

The American Peace Society is now spending about one hundred thousand dollars a year. This is from the home office alone; the expenditures of the affiliated societies will total as much again. Arthur D. Call, the acting secretary and executive director at Washington, receives $8,000 a year. The five department directors together receive $10,000. They are Louis P. Lochner, James R. Tryon, Samuel T. Dutton, Robert C. Root, and James J. Hall. There are thirty-four constituent branch societies and twenty-one sectional societies, while twelve other societies have recently been added and numerous societies are in process of organization. These are supported in part by local contributions but the parent society assists them to the extent of from $10,000 to $12,000 a year. In 1914, which is the year covered by the last available public report, the society maintained nine equipped offices, with twenty-two salaried officers and, out of a total expenditure of $81,830.68, the salary roll was $36,010.42, with travelling expenses of $2,472.63 with an item for extra wages of $2006.80. The principal source of revenue is a subvention from the Carnegie Foundation of $31,000 a year, with various additions thereto from time to time. Out of a total income of $93,852.12, the fees from members amounted to only $14,691.63. This report covers only the money paid from the central organization.

This society publishes a magazine called *The Advocate of*

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Peace and maintains a corps of peace lecturers who make their own terms with whosoever desires to hire them. The names of these lecturers are: Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, Boston; Rev. A. E. Bartlett, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Charles E. Beals, Worcester, Mass.; Franklin S. Blair, Guilford College, N. C.; Raymond L. Bridgman, Boston; E. Howard Brown, Westfield, Ind.; Arthur Deering Call, Washington, D. C.; W. C. Dennis, Washington, D. C.; Rev. Charles F. Dole, Jamaica Plains, Mass.; Prof. Fred Morrow Fling, Lincoln, Nebr.; Rev. Bradley Gilman, Canton, Mass.; Dr. Thomas Edward Green, Chicago, Ill.; Prof. A. L. Guerard, Houston, Texas; Rev. J. J. Hall, D.D., Atlanta, Ga.; John F. Hanson, Portland, Ore.; Prof. Benjamin H. Hibbard, Ames, Ia.; Prof. George Elliot Howard, Lincoln, Nebr.; Rev. William G. Hubbard, Sandy Lake, Pa.; Seichi E. Ikemoto, Kansas City, Mo.; K. S. Inui, Detroit, Mich.; Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Chicago, Ill.; Louis P. Lochner, Chicago, Ill.; Rev. George L. Mason, Holderness, N. H.; Edwin D. Mead, Boston; Lucia Ames Mead, Boston; Judge William F. Norris, Washington, D. C.; Joseph H. Peele, Guilford College, N. C.; Rev. Arthur S. Phelps, Los Angeles, Cal.; Judge Robert F. Raymond, Newton Centre, Mass.; W. P. Rogers, Cincinnati, O.; George T. Smart, D.D., Newton Highlands, Mass.; Prof. Bromley Smith, Lewisburg, Pa.; Dr. Emanuel Sternheim, Baton Rouge, La.; Dr. Homer B. Sprague, Brighton, Mass.; James L. Tryon, Boston, Mass.; Arthur L. Weatherly, Lincoln, Nebr.

Fees for lecturing form a not inconsiderable part of the income of all of these speakers.

The other large peace corporation is the World Peace Foundation which was established by the late Edwin Ginn of Boston for the purpose of " educating the people of all nations to a full knowledge of the waste and destructiveness of war, its evil effects on present social conditions and on the well being of future generations, and to promote international justice and the brotherhood of man and generally, by every practicable means, to promote peace and good will among all mankind." As in the case of the American Peace Society the trustees are divided between present advocates of preparedness, as Dr. A. Lawrence Lowell

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of Harvard, and Hamilton Holt, and advocates of non-preparedness like David Starr Jordan and Samuel T. Dutton.

The World Foundation has devoted a great deal of attention to establishing peace organizations in the colleges, and to distributing books and pamphlets to teachers and clergymen. The headquarters members are Fred B. Foulk, Charles H. Levermore, Denys P. Myers, George W. Nasmyth, composing the general staff; Edward Cummings, the general secretary, Norman Angell, and G. Lowes Dickinson, "peace lecturers." The latter two do more writing than lecturing and are not pacifists in the invidious meaning of the term.

The society has been very active in the way of lectures, principally before university audiences. Dr. David Starr Jordan, who is also on the pay roll, toured the country from coast to coast, making 70 addresses in two months and then later gave 60 lectures on the Pacific coast and in the Middle West and made another swing across the Continent. During the summer he took part in twelve congresses, held in connection with the Panama Pacific Exposition. Drs. Levermore and Nasmyth are active speakers, who have made more than 100 addresses. The organization has distributed some 25,000 sets of a series of nine leaflets against increasing the armament of the country; and most of these have gone to libraries, teachers and clergyman.

The World Peace Foundation is now spending about $100,000 a year, although it does not maintain offices other than the home office in Boston. The last financial report covers the fiscal year ending September 30th, 1915. During that time they paid out $94,119.24 of which $31,366 went for salaries and $3,302.03 for travelling expenses. They also gave $2,500 to the American School Peace League and spent more than $5,000 for publicity. The whole revenue is derived from the Estate of Edwin Ginn, the income of real estate and securities given by him in his lifetime and the receipts from the society's publications. The total income for the year was $94,697.91. There are no contributing members—it is a one-man organization.

The American Peace Society and the World Peace Foundation might be termed the old line peace advocates and, always excepting the fanatics, they are willing to discuss the pros and

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cons of preparedness without trotting in all sorts of exotic social theories. The new lot of peace organizations are offshoots of socialistic or anarchistic groups who use the peace propaganda to circulate the radical ideas of life. These are the societies that deny patriotism, declare the Stars and Stripes a meaningless rag and circulate pledges in which the signers promise never to bear arms in defence of the nation. The great majority of these agitators are either foreign-born or in the first generation of the foreign-born. Their advent in the active pacifist movement is coincident with Ford's announcement that he would spend unlimited money for peace.

These societies follow the Ford-Tavenner lead that the whole preparedness cause is founded on the desire of the munition makers and the bankers to make money out of war. They have raised the ever-serviceable cry of "Wall Street" and have denounced those who favor military and naval strength instead of going into the merits of the question. Their programme has been to throw dust in the eyes of the people on the real issue and make the discussion a vehicle for socialistic propaganda. The adherents embrace almost every known "ism" and have drawn to themselves not a few estimable social workers who can see in preparation against war, only preparation for war. Among these are such worthy women as Miss Jane Addams of Hull House, and Miss Lillian D. Wald of the Henry Street Mission.

The Woman's Peace Party with Miss Addams at its head is the largest organization. It has branches in nearly all the larger cities and is spending large sums of money for the support of workers and the distribution of "anti" literature. The branch in New York spends $600 or more a month, although it pays no office rent, having quarters in a building which is owned by the president of the Board of Trustees of the World Peace Foundation. The Woman's Party includes such suffragettes as are opposed to war and has "War Against War" as its slogan. The members pay one dollar a year as dues but the main funds are derived from large subscriptions. Mrs. Amos Pinchot is one of the heaviest contributors to the New York branch. Ford money has been promised but has not yet been paid over.

The Anti-Preparedness Committee, now known as the Amer-

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ican Union Against Militarism, is located in Washington under the leadership of Miss Crystal Eastman. She is a sister of Max Eastman, who denounces patriotism and declares that love of country is a silly thing; he is also the editor of a quasi-socialistic journal which, for some time, regularly printed a form of pledge against military service of any kind under any conditions. The salaries and wages of the employees of the Union Against Militarism and the circulation of its propaganda costs, according to Miss Eastman, about $1,000 a month. The funds have been obtained from 611 contributors; of these twenty gave sums from $50 to $2,000 and one hundred sums of $5 to $50. Ford money has been promised but has not yet been paid.

The most spectacular work of this organization has been in the promotion of a tour of pacifist spellbinders in the wake of President Wilson's speaking trip in the Middle West. The tourists were all " peace at any price " men, among whom were Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Amos R. E. Pinchot, who has been in all kinds of movements for many years; Rev. John Haynes Holmes, who gained notoriety for his vehement speeches against the power of the State to require military service of its citizens; the Rev. A. A. Berle and Herbert S. Bigelow. None of these men has been prominently identified with the older peace societies.

The expedition visited New York, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Minneapolis, Des Moines, Kansas City, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Pittsburg and other cities.

Miss Eastman managed the trip which, she says, cost about $10,000, without payment of the speakers. The principal financial backer was said to be a representative of the First California Congressional District, which comprises the northern coast counties; he was elected to the Sixty-second Congress as an Insurgent Republican and has since been elected as an Independent. He is now a member of an organization formed to further the re-election of President Wilson. He is a wealthy lumberman but had not been known to have pacifist leanings; in fact, on January 24th, 1916, he declared in a speech that National Defence was an insurance and advocated the adoption of the Swiss system. He is said to have paid $5,000 towards the cost of the cruise; the balance of the money was raised by

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divers subscriptions and by two organizers, who went ahead of the orators.

There are no end of other societies; the list is a yard long. The Anti-Enlistment League has its headquarters in Brooklyn and aims to discourage national fealty by the pledge of the members to refuse to take up arms for the nation under any circumstance; the Collegiate Anti-Militarism League has somewhat the same general programme and tries to work among students. The League to Enforce Peace in the East is for preparedness as a means to force peace, but in the West is largely supported by the followers of Bryan and is pacifistic.

The active managers of all societies make speeches, distribute literature and hunt subscriptions.

In addition to these societies, and working with them whenever the chance offers, are the numerous organizations under German auspices and supported by German money which, under various peace names, seek to prevent the export of arms and munitions to the Allies.

Labor's National Peace Council is, or was, a purely pro-German organization, which has been denounced and discredited by Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor. The principal officers are now under indictment in the United States Courts for endeavoring to stir up strikes in munition plants.

The funds for the Peace Council, it is alleged, came from German sources. From the same sources came the funds for many public meetings held throughout the country which, under the guise of peace meetings, resolved themselves into meetings to pass resolutions against the export of arms and munitions. William Jennings Bryan spoke at such a meeting in Madison Square Garden and the funds for a peace meeting extensively advertised as "The Truth About Preparedness" and held in Carnegie Hall, New York, at which Rabbi Stephen S. Wise was one of the principal speakers, also came indirectly from German sources. The amount which the German propaganda has expended through pacifists is unknown and is not included in the million dollars which the opponents of prepared-

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ness have expended in the past six months. It probably amounts to another half million dollars.

One of the most comical stories of the War concerns one of these propaganda meetings. A certain Wall Street promoter told a certain German agent, who was distributing funds with a lavish hand, that he could "buy" a big pacifist for $25,000. The German agent wrote the check—to the promoter, of course; for the pacifist's name must not appear on the check. The promoter then persuaded the German agent that 1000 "labor" delegates could be "got" for $100 apiece. Again, the German agent wrote the check. Needless to say—neither the spell-binding, barn-storming pacifist nor the "labor" delegates ever got a sniff of the checks. The promoter is now under sentence of the courts, and the German agent is in London Tower. His name, rightly or wrongly, has been connected with the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

The chief result of the bogus German peace movement was the enlisting of Henry Ford by Mme. Rosika Schwimmer, first, to stop the European War, and incidentally to stop all future wars. Mme. Schwimmer is a Hungarian by birth and was held by the Allies to be a Teuton agent. She somehow captivated Mr. Ford with a scheme for ending the war, one of the principal features of which was a free trip to Europe by a shipload of pacifists. Mme. Schwimmer's exact plan has never been revealed. The best opinion seems to be that she never had a plan of any kind but merely deluded Mr. Ford into making a spectacular peace demonstration.

The trip was utterly futile in so far as peace was concerned and shortly resolved into a junket; some of the party, on the credit of Mr. Ford, were buying everything they saw from jewelry to fur overcoats until Mr. Gaston Plaintiff, the Ford business manager, called a halt on the expenditures. The net cost of the expedition to Mr. Ford was $400,000.

As a souvenir of the expedition, some of the crew of the peace ship remained abroad more leisurely to promote international amity as members of the Ford payroll. They added to their numbers from citizens of Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Norway and Sweden and established headquarters at

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Stockholm under the pretentious name of "The Neutral Conference for Continuous Mediation." Some unregenerate scoffers declare that the word "Mediation" should read "Meditation"; for, according to S. S. McClure, who recently returned from Europe, the labors of these "Commissioners" had been concentrated on a resolution of about 200 words which they draughted and sent to each of the belligerents.

Mme. Schwimmer seems to have dropped out of the Ford circuit and the Rev. Charles F. Aked, whom the movie cameras showed to have been easily the most expert leap-frogger of the original expedition, is also off the list of regular "Commissioners." Louis P. Lochner, a field secretary of the American Peace Society and who also acted as secretary to Mr. Ford on shipboard, is the General Secretary and Miss Emily Greene Balch is the other American delegate. Frederick Holt of Detroit acts as comptroller of the Ford funds.

Upon Mr. Ford's return he announced that he was ready to spend $25,000,000 or as much more as might be necessary, to prevent any improvement or extension of the naval or military establishment of the United States. He evolved the theory that the only advocacy of preparedness was on the part of munition makers and others who might profit directly or indirectly in the manufacture of the implements of war. He has advanced this theory in a series of full-page, newspaper advertisements which have been published throughout the United States under his signature. This advertising was a complement to the speeches of Representative Clyde H. Tavenner, of Illinois.

Mr. Tavenner has made a number of speeches containing loose and indefinite charges against the munition makers as being behind the entire preparedness campaign. Not all of these speeches were actually spoken upon the floor of the House of Representatives, but a "leave to print" was granted in every case and the speeches thus duly appeared in the Congressional Record as having been made. All the statements were therefore shielded by the legal privilege which attaches to Congressional debate. Then Mr. Ford followed the speeches by advertising, calling attention to the charges and stating that a copy thereof might be obtained by addressing Mr. Tavenner at Washington.

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Mr. Ford paid for the printing by the Government office of some 2,000,000 copies of the Tavenner remarks and also paid for a staff of clerks to send out the pamphlets to all who asked for them. The speeches went out under the postal frank which Congress has granted to its members for their official business correspondence.

The advantages of this scheme were these:

1. Mr. Ford protected himself from libel in his advertising by quoting verbatim from Tavenner and thus succeeded in safely placing unproved charges before the public.

2. All postal charges were saved. These charges would have amounted to at least $20,000 if postage had been paid.

3. A country wide advertisement was secured for Mr. Ford and Mr. Tavenner.

Although the charges as contained in the Tavenner speeches have been shown to be untrue, they have been repeated constantly through the Ford advertising. The Navy League and Col. Robert M. Thompson were direct objects of attack in this advertising and therefore the Navy League sent the following telegram to Mr. Ford:

Chicago, Feb. 22, 1916.

Henry Ford,

Detroit, Mich.

In your full-page advertisement in today's papers, you insinuate that the Navy League of which the writer is Secretary, was organized by war traffickers for profits, quoting insinuations by Congressman Tavenner as charges that have never been refuted.

Such insinuations have been refuted and have absolutely no foundation. They have been constantly denied by the Navy League, whose books are and always have been open.

I hereby offer to submit to you all Navy League minutes and books which will give you complete evidence that the motives of the League's organizers, members and contributors have been purely patriotic and unselfish. I do not question your motives but ask you to be fair and square with the Navy League and give the League the opportunity to

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show you or your representative our books which will entirely refute your insinuations.

I cannot believe that you will fail to grant this opportunity to the Navy League to defend its good name and ask for an immediate reply. Address Chicago Navy League Office.

(*Signed*) A. H. DADMUN.

But Mr. Ford did not want facts. Here is his reply to the League's telegram:

Detroit, Mich., February 23, 1916.

A. H. Dadmun,

Office of Navy League, 38 South Dearborn St., Chicago.

News columns I know have carried denials of Tavenner charges, but mere denial is not refutation. I am merely offering newspaper readers opportunity to read Tavenner charges and form their own conclusions.

(*Signed*) HENRY FORD.

Mr. Tavenner is a former newspaper correspondent who became secretary to a Congressman and, later, was himself elected to Congress. I do not know whether or not he believes in preparedness, but I do know that he offered to give his support to the Navy League if it, in return, would support his bill to have the government make its own munitions of war. In this plan was a provision for locating a million and a half dollar arsenal and a $6,000,000 armor plate plant in the Tavenner Congressional District.

Had it not been for an unfortunate miscarriage of the Ford-Tavenner plan, the Navy League would have been unable to force a public investigation of these charges. It so happened that on May 1st, Mr. Ford published one of his full-page advertisements calling attention to a Tavenner speech, but the release of the advertisement came a couple of days ahead of the printing of the speech in the Congressional Record and therefore, for once, Ford lost his shield of privilege. The Navy League at once brought suit for $100,000 for libel.

Take the case of Colonel Robert M. Thompson. He is

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Chairman of the Board of Directors of the International Nickel Company, which Mr. Ford called in his advertisement "a firm that has profited and will probably profit more than any other concern by the passage of the Navy Bill."

Here are the facts: Colonel Thompson owns six-tenths of one per cent of the common stock of the Nickel Company. The amount of nickel in a ton of armor plate is not over 2% by weight and less than 3% by cost; if the total value of the nickel in a ton of armor plate was all profit, Colonel Thompson's share would not be over fifteen cents a ton.

It is to promulgate reckless charges like these that a special room in the Capitol of the United States has been set aside, and a special force of men employed to forward Mr. Tavenner's speeches as printed in the Government printing office.

Mr. Ford has spent, according to the man who makes the payments for him, about $150,000 in advertising and other pacifist work since the return of the peace argosy. This makes a total of $550,000 expended by him since last September.

Is Mr. Ford a sincere advocate of peace? Or is he seeking advertising after the manner made famous by Tom Lawson? I cannot answer this question; I do not know.

On the one hand is the inevitable presence of the name "Ford" on his every undertaking—he puts his name in large letters on the top of his peace advertising; and he will not sponsor a statement which is other than a quotation from an official record—Mr. Tavenner making the official records to order. A peace organizer with a society ready at hand for a Ford donation, somewhat pathetically said, "Mr. Ford seems to prefer to give through his own agents and where his name is prominent." These facts make against sincerity.

And then there is another angle. Mr. Ford vigorously and insistently attacks the Navy League. But there is also an Army League, of which no mention is ever made in the Ford advertising. The Navy League advocates preparedness in general but especially at sea because, from the military point of view, the United States is an island and should therefore be defended by a navy. A navy is thoroughly in accord with American institutions and brings no dangers of militarism, and therefore is not

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properly subject to much of the attack which the pacifists base on the danger of militarism. But Mr. Ford chooses the Navy League as his especial target. He says nothing of the Army League.

The navy uses very few automobiles but the Ford cars are being very extensively used by the United States Army at its various posts and along the Mexican frontier.

On the other hand, there are the odd personal tenets. Mr. Henry A. Wise Wood a short time ago talked with Mr. Ford for some hours. He found that Mr. Ford would not discuss any subject—he would make a statement and that was the end of the matter; he waved away all that was in opposition to his views and was absolutely impervious to information. He has a theory that the present war was caused by two bankers and that he was going "to pull their teeth." He was very mysterious about the bankers, as mysterious as when he had the secret plan to end the war: he said, "Wait and see." He does not believe in history because it is past—he thinks that history should not be taught in the schools. He holds that the police should carry neither revolvers nor clubs, yet he suddenly asked Mr. Wood if he were a deputy sheriff—"You should be; I am one and so are also all my men." He said that, even if the country were invaded he would not make one dollar's worth of arms or munition for the government and, once the war were over, the American flag would come down from the Ford Works, never again to go up——.

A man of this sort lives in a world apart; he is shut in by a great wall of self-satisfied ignorance. And then Ford has so much money and it came upon him so suddenly that he knows nothing of its value. It is as a new toy with him—a very dangerous toy for those about; but he himself does not realize the danger. Someone has likened Ford to a baby throwing a stick of dynamite against a wall and enjoying the frantic efforts of the bystanders to make him stop.

But—whatever may be the brand of Ford sincerity—it is certain that this new professional pacificism is as dynamite in the structure of our nation.

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THE ISSUES OF 1916

HON. JOHN HAYS HAMMOND

[*The Issues on which John Hays Hammond—the Great Mining and Financial Expert—Thinks the Elections of 1916 Will Be Determined*]

Unifying of American Citizenship.
Military and Naval Defence.
Protection of Home Markets.
Extension of Foreign Trade.
Cutting Out Waste.
A Firm Foreign Policy.
Preparedness Against War by Being Prepared for War.
Preparation for a Reconstructed Economic World.
Protection of American Life, Property and Investment Abroad.
Business Men, not Parlor Knights, in Diplomatic Service.
The Establishment of an American Merchant Marine.
The Establishment of a National Budget.
Immigration Laws Based on Character Rather Than Education.
A World Court to Prevent War.
The Abolition of Secret Back Stairs Diplomacy.

THE coming twelve months hold the United States in the balance. The thought of the world as well as the governments of the world are in process of change. Europe is in the labor of a new birth. We do not know where the new thought will lead and we do not know what the new Europe will be like. But we do know that at the close of this Titanic struggle Europe will be confronted with dire poverty, and in these desperate straits she will become more formidable than ever in industrial competition with the rest of the world.

While Europe is thus changing, we in the United States are going more or less blissfully forward to the accumulation of vast wealth—obtained not by our striking efficiency but because a large portion of the world has been taken from the mill and put in the trenches. Our present prosperity has come upon us as suddenly as summer rain and we have had as much to do with its coming as we have to do with the coming of the rain.

The war over, we must meet Europe in the battle for supremacy. We cannot decline the ordeal unless we are willing to abdicate our present high position among the nations of the world. We cannot stand still. We must progress or retrogress. We have changed from an agricultural to a manufacturing people and our products are greater than the home consumption; we must have a foreign outlet. We cannot alter our economic development and therefore we should be prepared to meet all com-

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ers in all fields. We are not now thus prepared, and, unless we clearly see what is before us and adjust ourselves to meet new conditions, our prosperity will vanish as quickly as it came.

The vital American undertaking is this: To make a nation, united and purposeful, with a co-ordination of all forces to realize the best that is in us.

The grave, fundamental problems that are before us, as a nation, to solve, group themselves under these broad heads:

1. The obtaining and sustaining of an adequate military and naval defence in harmony with our institutions.

2. The safeguarding of our home markets and the extension of our trade into foreign markets.

3. The co-ordination of our government and our industry upon a basis that will eliminate waste and gain the highest efficiency in each.

4. The safeguarding of our nation against war by strong international relations and a firm, well-considered foreign policy.

It is unfortunate that the solution of these great economic problems is not entirely dissociated from party politics. Problems essentially economic in import, and vital to the welfare of the entire nation are too often determined on strictly political lines. These questions are, in a large measure, settled by politicians upon the stump, not by business men in boards of trade.

NATIONAL DEFENCE

Preparedness—preparedness against war is one of the great, if not indeed the most important of problems today, demanding the immediate attention of our National Congress.

The present unspeakable conflict in Europe has brought with it a vivid realization of how unintelligent our present methods are, how pitifully we lack in the field of international relations the most elementary machinery for the redress of grievances and for the avoidance of conflict such as is provided in the internal organization of the State. No individual is safeguarded; and the Nation is defenceless when "might becomes right."

That we have not the power to defend ourselves is now universally admitted—reluctantly admitted, it is true—by some whose duty it was to apprise the Nation early of the fact so it

DRURY COLLEGE LIBRARY
Springfield, Missouri

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should no longer be lulled into a feeling of security based upon misrepresentations which unwisely considered political expediency rather than the welfare of the Nation.

Only two objections can be urged against military preparedness. The ultra-pacifist, peace-at-any-price class oppose it because they fear that our Nation might develop a spirit of imperialism; jingoism; or a militaristic mania which would tend to provoke rather than to prevent war.

Against this contention is the irrefutable argument of the cosmopolitan character of our population which tends to conservatism in international relations; the unimpeachable tradition of th pacific policy of our Nation; and the fact that we have no occasion and no ambition for territorial expansion.

If we Americans cannot depend upon our own self-restraint; if we cannot entrust to our own people the exercise of might for the reasons advanced against preparedness, what convincing argument can there be that governments of other nations, possessing superior power, might not abuse that power when international controversies arise?

I believe that *the mania for peace at any price* and unpreparedness *is a far greater peril to the Nation than the mania for militarism.*

There is a second objection: the cost of national defence. The estimated wealth of our Nation is upwards of one hundred and eighty-five billion dollars. It is the opinion of recognized authorities that the expenditure of less than one billion dollars, in addition to our present naval and military budget, would provide a navy and an army that would afford the Nation adequate protection against any probable contingency—that is, an expenditure not exceeding the cost of a few weeks' war on the part of any of the present belligerents; an expenditure far less than would be inflicted on our country by a first-class Power within a few weeks of the outbreak of war. And therefore, while all thoughtful men admit that the maintenance of great armies and navies is a futile expenditure in that it serves no useful purpose; that it is a prodigal expenditure in that it diverts enormous sums of money from the alleviation of human suffering to which it could otherwise be applied; nevertheless, *I believe* that under

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existing conditions *it would be indefensible, indeed execrable parsimony to oppose national defence solely because of the expense involved.*

I believe that time, in carrying out our programme of national defence, is of supreme importance not only to safeguard against menace, but to enable our Nation to exercise an influence in the Council of Nations commensurate with our position among the nations of the world.

THE SAFEGUARDING OF OUR TRADE

With a rapidly increasing population and especially a rapidly increasing number of wage earners, we must extend our industrial activities, but we must not lose sight of the fact that over-extension in industry inevitably causes depression in times of business recession. Authorities agree that we are now rapidly approaching the limit—the point of saturation, in our domestic markets, in so far as demands under normal conditions are concerned.

It is obvious, therefore, that we must either curtail the capacity of our factories (which would result in throwing out of employment millions of wage earners and the disorganization of complementary industries), or we must depend upon the exploitation of foreign countries for the relief of our congested home markets.

In foreign markets we meet our great trade rivals, who, by years of experience and by the expenditure of colossal sums of money, have obtained a firm foothold in the markets we seek. Therefore, successfully to compete with these nations we must secure for ourselves every advantage we can derive from the most efficient exploitation of our national industries, fostered by constructive legislation at home and promoted by able commercial diplomacy abroad. This has been notably the policy of Germany and its success is evidenced by the unparalleled strides she has made in the development of her great foreign commerce.

There should be, in my opinion, a readjustment of our commercial treaties as soon after the war as possible to enable our Government to make separate treaties with the different nations to our mutual advantage, giving us an adequate return for any concessions we may make as to the admission of their exports.

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This is, admittedly, dollar diplomacy—but good, honorable, legitimate business; the Pecksniffian pinheads to the contrary notwithstanding.

One of the effects of the European War will be a radical change in the commercial relations between the different European nations. England's policy will probably undergo important modifications. I believe that she will adopt the principle of a protective tariff to safeguard her industries during the period of rehabilitation, and, incidentally, as a source of national revenue. England would be wise to base upon such a protective tariff reciprocal trade treaties and conventions with her Colonies and with her present Allies, to whom she has given large financial aid during the war. The effect of such a policy would be, for some time at least, to shut out Germany's exports from the markets of Great Britain, her Colonies and Dependencies, with the result that Germany would be compelled to seek other markets and thus become our most formidable competitor. We likewise would be adversely affected by such a change in England's fiscal policy; and it is for such contingencies that trade treaties should provide.

The investment of a nation's capital abroad is of great advantage in the expansion of its commerce; it is the "Open Sesame" of export trade.

In order to stimulate the investment of American capital in foreign lands it is a prerequisite that the investor be assured of protection by his government against any unfair interference or discrimination on the part of foreign governments. It will *not* be necessary for our Government to assume a truculent attitude towards the smaller nations where investments may be less securely established than in other countries, nor is it expected that our Government should in any way guarantee the success of commercial enterprises—business men are willing to assume legitimate risks in their investments. But it is imperative that our Government secure the fair treatment of its citizens who have invested their capital in legitimate industry under laws obtaining in the country when those investments were made. Laws which result in the confiscation of property, legally acquired, do not justify a great nation in repudiating its obligation to obtain the

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redress for its citizens. If our Nation hopes to compete with other great nations, it must at least secure for its citizens the same guarantee of the protection of life and property as is assured the nationals of our competitors.

During recent years our Consular Service has been greatly improved and reflects credit upon our Nation, but there is room for further improvement. I advocate, in the selection of Consuls, that due consideration be given to their qualifications for future service in the Diplomatic Corps, so ambassadors be chosen from men who have attained distinction in the Consular Service. We need business men and men of affairs rather than parlor-knights in our diplomatic service.

An American Merchant Marine would be most valuable in the development of our foreign trade. Today only about ten per cent of our foreign commerce is carried in American-owned vessels, ninety per cent being carried in vessels for the most part owned and controlled by trade rivals. Direct and frequent sailings are of inestimable advantage in the development of trade relations; but I do not approve steamship lines being owned or controlled by the Government, as that would obviously deter private investment in lines which would be subject to competition by Government-owned vessels.

The rehabilitation and expansion of our Merchant Marine can best be accomplished by private enterprise after the necessary amendment of our navigation laws, but to compensate for the subsidies given to their nationals by other Governments we must either give American shipping the benefit of subventions or of discrimination or countervailing duties in favor of imports carried in American bottoms. According to Senator Underwood, " all of the great shipping nations of the world are today granting subsidies in one form or another to their ships passing through the Suez Canal except our own Government. Already," he states, " two of the shipping nations are providing subsidies for the ships passing through the Panama Canal and undoubtedly the other shipping nations will shortly adopt the same policy." In addition to its trade uses, a Merchant Marine is an indispensable auxiliary to an efficient navy.

But, far more important than an American Merchant Ma-

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rine, is the extension of American banking facilities in foreign countries. This is now made possible by the Federal Reserve Law, and the National City Bank of New York is to be commended for the enterprise it is showing in establishing branch banks in South America and elsewhere.

Many of us have been deluded into a feeling of national financial security, because of the so-called "favorable" trade balances, amounting to several hundred millions of dollars a year, that our Nation has enjoyed. The present trade balance, because of our "war orders," now soars into the billions and is greater than any nation has ever enjoyed.

But our normal trade balance is fictitious, because of what are known by economists as "invisible exports." Our normal "invisible exports" are, first, one hundred and seventy-five million dollars or more on account of payments of loans made to this country, and of interest and dividends due to European financiers on investments made here, the United States still being a large debtor nation to Europe for money borrowed to develop our industries. This indebtedness has been reduced by the resale of securities but it is still very large. Second, money drawn on foreign drafts by Americans abroad, amounts to a net yearly sum of about one hundred and seventy million dollars. Third, funds remitted abroad by immigrants residing in this country. These remittances amount to from one hundred and fifty million dollars to two hundred and fifty million dollars annually. Fourth, sums remitted by American manufacturers and merchants in payment of freight shipped in foreign bottoms, estimated at a net sum, after deductions, of about one hundred million dollars. This make a total sum, conservatively estimated at from five to six hundred million dollars yearly of invisible exports, to be deducted from our "favorable" trade balance.

From this explanation it is obvious that our Nation must have an excess of exports over imports to cover these "invisible exports," OR IT MUST PAY THE DIFFERENCE, THAT IS, THE DEFICIT, EITHER BY THE SHIPMENT OF GOLD ABROAD OR BY SELLING ADDITIONAL AMERICAN SECURITIES TO FOREIGN INVESTORS.

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In time of a great European war and its aftermath, the sale of American securities abroad is, of course, impracticable, and there is then no alternative but the exportation of American gold to liquidate our indebtedness. The continued shipments abroad of large sums of gold would soon menace the financial integrity of the Nation. The present tariff unfortunately operates to produce an excess of imports rather than of exports. In the five months preceding the outbreak of the European war, the monthly imports actually exceeded the exports owing to the unscientific Underwood Tariff Law.

Fortunately, the effect of the war has been to create what is tantamount to a protective tariff by reason of the incident restriction of exports to this country from the belligerent nations.

A great national calamity—financial and industrial—has been averted by a fortuitous and abnormally large exportation of foodstuffs and munitions of war to the belligerent nations and by their economic inability to export to us.

We have learned, from the war, the interdependence of our industries—the vital dependence, for example, of agriculture upon the prosperity of the manufacturing industry. We have learned the importance of all of our industries to our transportation systems, to our agencies of distribution. We have learned that THE KEYNOTE OF OUR LEGISLATION MUST EVER BE TO PRESERVE UNIMPAIRED THE INTEGRITY OF OUR HOME INDUSTRIES AND THE PURCHASING POWER OF OUR DOMESTIC MARKETS.

Our home market absorbs yearly thirty-five billion dollars' worth of American products—more than twice the value of the entire exports of the whole world.

Greater New York City alone manufactures yearly products with a value of two-and-a-half-billion dollars, which is considerably more than the entire exports and imports of South America.

We cannot preserve this great home market without a tariff upon imports.

One of the economic lessons of the European War is the complete vindication of the principle of a protective tariff. That policy has resulted in the building up, the expansion and the diversification of our national industries, and has provided an

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adequate revenue for our Federal Government without levying a "war" tax in time of peace.

The tariff is inherently an economic and not a political problem, and while it may not be possible to take the tariff out of politics, it is, at least, possible, and certainly desirable to keep politics out of the tariff.

For this reason, as a business man, I favor the creation of a permanent, non-partisan commission of tariff experts to present authentic facts to Congress and to the people on proposed tariff revision.

I also advocate tariff revision, schedule by schedule, not only to prevent shock to industry occasioned by sudden and sweeping changes, but also to prevent log-rolling which makes it possible for selfish interests to secure excessive protection. As a sine qua-non in giving any industry the benefit of a protective tariff, that industry must pay to its wage earners, as the minimum, a fair *living* wage according to American, *not* European standards.

Our tariff policy should be a national, American policy, permanent in its character and subject only to the occasional modifications demanded by the exigencies of changing conditions. Such a tariff policy would dispel the uncertainty among industrial interests and the consequent business depression that characterizes periods immediately preceding national elections.

CO-ORDINATION OF GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY

One of the great problems before the American people is how to increase efficiency—co-ordinated efficiency—in industry, in the political administration of City, State and Nation, and in our domestic affairs. As a nation we are characterized by prodigality, and have, as yet, devoted little scientific endeavor to the curtailment of waste—waste in the consumption of millions of dollars yearly by preventable fires, waste in the development of our great timber tracts, our mines, our farms, economic waste from excessive industrial accidents, waste in our domestic affairs —waste in every phase of our national life.

The fundamental requisite for successful competition for the world's markets is efficiency, which means low cost production. It is well to disabuse our minds of the cherished delusion of the

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tremendous "superiority of American labor," "Yankee ingenuity" and "American machinery" over that of all foreign countries. This superiority in productive efficiency no longer obtains in the same degree as formerly for the reason that technical training abroad, coupled with the introduction of American machinery, has already minimized the advantage that America formerly had. For their self-protection, American wage earners will be compelled to increase their efficiency to render possible the maintenance of the American standard of living while lowering the cost of production to enable our country to compete successfully in foreign commerce.

An important problem, indirectly affecting our trade, is that of the curriculum of our public schools. The policy of our public school system is directed to the preparation of boys for the university and it subordinates the preparing of them for efficient service in industrial and commercial pursuits. The curriculum of the public schools should be so arranged as to equip the graduates to earn their livelihood in commercial and industrial vocations. I believe that boys should have *less erudition and more knowledge.*

Far too many young men add to the congested ranks of the professions, whose energies could be far more profitably expended in other pursuits. They should be included in the producing, rather than in the non-producing, part of the community.

There has been much unintelligent prejudice, partly inspired for political purposes, against what we call "Big Business," but the people of the country ought by this time to be convinced that unless our industries can be developed on large-scale production, as is the practice of our great European trade rivals, we shall be seriously handicapped in our quest for foreign markets. England permits, France encourages, and Germany sometimes even compels, combinations in the interest of the industry involved and of the general public. The policy of Germany has been to promote the prosperity of its industries, not to invoke the technicalities of laws formulated by unpractical theorists in political economy, as in America.

In this country, competition is regarded by many of our political leaders as the "life of trade." As a matter of fact, com-

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petition, when unduly stimulated, often works irreparable injury to industrial communities by the resulting lower wages; by fluctuations in prices which depress business, and by the loss of investments. "Reasonable stability in prices is the basis of prosperous trade."

I have always opposed restriction of immigration on an educational test, believing *that a character test is very much more important. Deficiency in character cannot be supplied by any system of education,* for as the African Zulus say, *"Wherever a man moves he takes his character with him;"* whereas lack of knowledge can and has been remedied in a short time by our excellent public school system. Following this line of thought, I would favor that the Ellis Islands be transferred to the home countries of the emigrants, and that our Consular Service be made responsible for the class of emigrants destined for our country. Also, that measures be taken by our national government to prevent a congestion of immigration in certain localities by directing the flow to other sections of the country.

I have had many years of experience among the peoples of all the warring nations, and as the result of that experience, I entertain a high regard for all of them. I know them all to be imbued with lofty ideals, and, in fact, very similar ideals; and I would, therefore, hesitate to ascribe to the great mass of the peoples of a particular nation any inherent virtue that the same class of another nation does not possess in an equal degree.

It is by stimulated misunderstanding that the latent savagery, common to all men, is aroused and the passions so engendered, when unrestrained, lead to war; and the vaulting ambitions of selfish and incompetent statesmanship of those shaping the destinies of nations are at fault, rather than the peoples of the nations themselves. It seems unbelievable that the co-operation of the great intellects of the world, exercising but a modicum of that ingenuity expended in the invention of terrible engines of destruction, should not be able to devise a plan by which the nations of the world would submit their controversies to a Supreme Court of Nations, and thus relegate to the scrap-heap of progressive civilization the settlement of disputes by the arbitrament of arms.

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THE TRUTH ABOUT OUR MUNITION-MAKING

OUR MUNITION-MAKING FOR EUROPE HAS:

INCREASED MUNITION FACTORIES FROM 6 TO 1,000, WITH MANY THOUSAND OTHER SHOPS MAKING SMALL PARTS AND SUPPLIES.

ENABLED US TO SPEED UP IN TURNING OUT THREE-INCH SHELLS FROM ONE IN THREE HOURS TO ONE EVERY FIFTEEN MINUTES.

GIVEN EMPLOYMENT TO HALF A MILLION UNSKILLED MECHANICS.

ENABLED HUNDREDS OF MEN WHO ORDINARILY MADE NO MORE THAN $2 A DAY TO MAKE AS HIGH AS $33 A DAY.

SENT UP THE PRICE OF HIGH-SPEED STEEL FROM 60 CENTS TO $4 PER POUND.

NECESSITATED THE MANUFACTURE OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS' WORTH OF "SINGLE PURPOSE" MACHINES WHICH, AFTER THE WAR, WILL BE "SCRAPPED."

CAUSED HUNDREDS OF MEN TO ESTABLISH BIG PLANTS WHICH WILL BE SOLD AS JUNK AFTER THE WAR.

CAUSED SUCH A SCARCITY OF FORGINGS THAT MANY CONCERNS BORE ONE-POUND SHELLS FROM SOLID BARS—AND WITH 40% PROFIT!

NECESSITATED AN INCREASE OF WAGES IN NON-MUNITION MAKING MACHINE SHOPS IN ORDER TO HOLD THE MEN.

ENABLED ONE FIRM TO USE MORE THAN 500 UNSALABLE STEEL COFFINS FOR CASES IN WHICH TO SHIP AMMUNITION.

PROVED ONE OF THE BEST POSSIBLE HELPS FOR OUR OWN PREPAREDNESS.

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[EDITOR'S NOTE: *This article is by the managing editor of one of the biggest and best of mechanical publications in the country. He has just returned from a six-months tour of the United States, visiting every munition plant to be found and studying the work and the conditions.*]

TWO years ago there were not more than six concerns, outside of our arsenals and the manufacturers of sporting rifles and ammunition, that were producing munitions of war. Today there are more than a thousand shops devoted to the making of munitions. I have visited practically all of the larger concerns and many of the smaller ones during a tour of six months devoted solely to learning the truth about our munition-making.

No more than 3,000 men were employed at making munitions before the war. There are now more than half a million men so employed, and a great share of these are unskilled mechanics. The number of concerns engaged in manufacturing canteens, uniforms, equipments and other supplies and war materials, aside from the actual munitions, cannot be even estimated.

At the outbreak of the war the easiest thing to do was to secure a "war contract," and the past eighteen months has proved that the most difficult thing to do is to fill these satisfactorily. Not that it is not being done, but *for every shop that is succeeding there are a dozen that tried and had to give up, or went flat broke.*

Contracts alone, it has been found, do not spell dividends. In fact, they have been found to be rather staggering liabilities in an astonishing number of instances. Many a contractor found to his sorrow that what appeared like "fat prices" for work a year ago turned out to have many streaks of "lean" in it. This was largely because of the astonishing increase in the prices of machines and materials.

It is almost ludicrous—it would be, were not so many cases pitiful—to look back at some of the earlier war contracts and see how eagerly they were sought by men who knew nothing at all of this kind of work, but who believed they must be profitable since they were "war orders."

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I found that builders of printing presses and makers of tin cans, manufacturers of locomotives and owners of hairpin factories all made a rush for these war contracts, and most of them secured a number. Millions, not two or three millions but twenty, thirty, or forty millions of fuses and shells were contracted for by men who had no idea where they were to be built, how they were to be built, or where to secure the necessary machinery.

One small shop took every order in sight, at the start. This was a shop so small it couldn't have turned out a million shells in twenty years, but it secured credit on the strength of its staggering orders, bought other shops, went to work and made good. But where this small man succeeded many and many others went to the wall.

Men securing war orders bought rubber factories, paper mills and almost every other variety of shop solely to secure the machinery for converting into munition-making machines. Even machine tool shops were bought to get machines for the work. But these men went about it blindly. *One concern went to the wall with a crash, even with its sixty million dollars' worth of war contracts. Another firm failed with twenty-three million dollars' worth of such contracts.*

The greatest trouble at the start was in taking so many of these contracts without realizing the amount of material necessary to use in filling them or—and this proved the greatest stumbling block—without anticipating the difficulty in obtaining these necessary materials. The same thing held good in relation to the machinery for the making of shells and similar parts. Almost over night the prices for these materials leaped skyward. High-speed steel jumped from 60 cents to $4 a pound.

One concern I visited had some far-sighted men at its head. These men sent their agents scurrying over the country buying tons upon tons of copper tubing, and they secured options on still more tons upon tons of it. The tubing they bought came in sizes proper for the rifling bands on shells. These men did not bother to make shells, they merely sat back and sold this tubing to shell-makers at such a handsome profit that they have already amassed immense fortunes.

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No one knows how many small contracts are placed in different parts of the country, and this is what makes it difficult to get an accurate line on the number of people engaged in making munitions. Many of these factories make the claim that they are manufacturing "metal bottles" or "hardware" or any other article or articles far removed from the actual munitions they are turning out. They have their reasons for this secrecy, or did have at first. Most of them who did this feared trouble or interference of some sort if it became known.

Lathes, the backbone of every machine business, have more than doubled in price and are difficult to get, at that. This situation is, however, being made easier now because many new concerns have been formed solely to manufacture lathes, wise heads anticipating the great demand for them.

To the uninitiated it is surprising to know that manufacturers of machinery today are reaping a bigger harvest than the manufacturers of munitions in a great many cases. Old machines have brought fabulous prices. Many shop owners have stripped their shops entirely of machinery at such a profit they can afford to remain idle until after the war and wait until prices for machinery are normal when they will re-equip with all new machines. One man sold an automatic screw machine which cost him $2,800 four years ago, for $4,600. His profit on that machine was four years of good usage and $1,800 cash!

This scarcity of machinery has not only led new people into the machine building game, where they must be reckoned with as a business factor in future, but actually compelled many contractors to build machines before they could start on their own contracts. These are, in many cases, entirely special, that is, they are known as "single purpose" machines, and are only useful for the one operation. One concern has equipped its whole plant with such machinery for making 3-inch shells. All of this machinery will be worth only so much scrap when there are no more contracts. There is a machine for each operation and there are fifteen of these, making fifteen entirely different equipments for this work.

The effect of such work as this has been more far-reaching

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than many realize. When we understand that almost no one outside of arsenals knew anything about shell-making, we begin to see the tremendous opportunity we have had for learning how to make munitions at the other fellow's expense. Nor is this all. The experience gained will have its effect on regular machine work of the future where it is done in large quantities. Methods have changed in many ways as a result. Highly specialized automatic machines, though eagerly sought at first, have given way in most cases to plain heavy lathes built just for the job; lathes that any farm hand or ex-barber can be taught to handle in a few hours' time.

And this has resulted in reducing the time required to an astonishing degree. *Instead of three hours, which was a fair machining time at the start, three-inch shells are now being machined in fifteen minutes,* on the plain, specially built machines referred to. And the fact that they are turning out ten thousand shells a day indicates that the plan must be working out.

The sudden demand for labor brought us face to face with the fact that skilled mechanics were few and far between, for the simple reason that we have not been making them for fifteen years or more. And you cannot expect a crop of machinists without sowing the seed any more than you can in the case of potatoes or other necessities. So the really skilled men, being in great demand, had the unusual experience of being offered high wages without having to kick for them, and tool makers are now getting from 75 cents to a dollar an hour, even more in some cases, while specialists in munitions can get almost anything they ask.

But as there were not enough skilled mechanics at any price to go around, it became necessary to tackle the problem from another angle. So the single-purpose lathe became much more of an institution than ever before, and mechanics, of sufficient skill to do the single operation required, can be trained almost while you wait. They are merely taught to pull a lever or turn a wheel; to put in a piece of work and take it out again; and to do this as fast as they can learn how. What they are doing or why they are doing it—except in exchange for the well-filled pay envelope—is none of their concern. Skilled men set up the ma-

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chine and skilled or semi-skilled men measure the product, but the work itself becomes almost automatic enough to do with an automaton.

But while this unskilled labor soon becomes skilled in its particular line, it is a bit strange that it should reap rewards far in excess of the all-round men, the men who set up the machines and who direct the work in general. Yet this is the case in many instances. One machine operator, an ex-barber who never saw the inside of a machine shop before the war, is making his $18 a day for 10½ hours' work in one shop I visited. Others, in some especially favored localities, are making $24 and as high as $33 per day on similar work, turning the bands on three-inch shells. This means hard work, and almost incredibly fast work on their part, but the returns can at least be called fair; especially when the foreman gets along on about $30 a week and the machine setter on even less. Naturally the much-to-be-commended loyalty toward the firm is a minus quantity in such cases. The men are paid piece work while the foreman is a "salaried" official. This, of course, sounds good but it hardly makes up for a difference of from $50 to $100 a week in the pay envelope.

This indicates that the munition makers must get a "fair" profit or they could not pay such wages, even at piece work. So "fair," in fact that they can afford to abandon plants bought just for this work. But on the other hand there are many cares and annoyances that do not appear on the surface. In many cases getting the contract was the easiest part of the whole thing. Then came the question of gages, of special tools, even assuming you could get the machines, and of satisfying the inspectors. This does not mean that many want to get defective work passed. But it does mean that unless you know what idiotic specifications an old-established arsenal like Woolwich can get out, you have a surprise coming. If there is a most expensive way to make anything, trust them for having it in the drawings and specifications.

The inspectors are for the most part mighty nice fellows in every way. But "orders is orders" and they have almost no discretion in the matter. And when you consider that a single time fuse sometimes has nearly three-hundred inspection gages

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which must be used on every one, one of the little sidelights begins to loom up into a real beacon. It wouldn't be so bad if all the things they measure were all-important to the thousandth of an inch. But when you know, and they know, that many of the measurements demanded have almost no bearing on the sole purpose of a shell or fuse—that of going off or "functioning" at the right time—it is exasperating. And particularly so when you know how badly the stuff was needed a few months ago.

These very gages have made a big problem in themselves. Hundreds of sets were necessary and few shops, taking contracts, were in position to make their own. The result has been the establishment of hundreds of little shops in the East and Middle West just for the making of gages and the small special tools which were necessary. These give an excellent opportunity for the really skilled mechanic to start his own little shop or to get good wages working for someone else. The future of many of these shops, when the war is over, is somewhat of a problem. These gages run into large sums of money and must be reckoned with in figuring the cost of manufacture. Then, too, many have proved unsatisfactory and entailed not only a financial loss but also delayed production so that penalties were enforced. I know of one case where a *firm was penalized $125,000.* Fortunately it was on a very large contract and will be more than made good before it is ended.

The making of shells is comparatively simple, being practically a plain lathe job which any shop ought to be able to handle with fair success. There are, of course, many kinks and short-cuts which have been developed from experience, but there is nothing inherently difficult in the job. But when it comes to drawing cartridge cases or making fuses or primers, only those who are accustomed to nice work need apply. Either the detonating fuse, which goes off on impact, or the time fuse, which is set to explode its shell when in the air just in front of advancing troops, are very different propositions. The latter is the worst because there is more to it. The parts are small, of a particularly tough brass for the most part (with some aluminum in some of the models), and more joints and holes and threads than you can imagine.

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And all to be blown to bits in the fraction of a second and to destroy as many human beings as possible.

Fuses and primers are bad enough in themselves but they are *easy compared with the rifle game* about which the papers talked so glibly a year ago. *Many are ordered but few are shipped,* to paraphrase a well-known saying. For, with one exception, not a single rifle plant has shipped a rifle at the time of this writing. Two huge new plants have several hundred thousand rifles under way, but the final assembling and shipping are yet in the future. Samples have been made, but samples are of no use in fighting battles. And instead of the wonderfully efficient planning, so that everything is coming out as per schedule, according to a recent writer, the time table is as badly twisted as was the colored porter on the Erie, who, when asked what time it was, replied: "Ah doan carry no watch on dis road, boss, all ah need is a calendar!" And so it has been thus far with rifles from our great factories. Probably no one knows the exact reason, but some of the best guessers along this line attribute it to *too many "efficiency experts" and too few real experienced workers of the practical variety.*

Do not forget that making the military rifle is no simple matter. *Take our own Springfield,* supposed to be one of the simplest army rifles in existence. *It takes more than twelve hundred different operations in the making!* And there can be no guess-work about any of it. Each piece must be right, so as to fit its neighbor and allow interchangeability in repairs. Special tools and fixtures are required by the hundreds, and there are more gages needed than in any other mechanism. It is an immense proposition and was underestimated in nearly every case. Despite this, there were scores of shops accustomed only to ordinary coarse work which tried to get rifle contracts. Many did. These included even builders of steam engines and rock crushers. They are hardly suited to rifle making.

About rifles and our own preparedness. *We have but two plants which can make our army Springfield rifles,* the Springfield and the Rock Island Arsenals. Springfield can turn out 500 rifles a day, working single shift. Rock Island can, or could before it was closed, turn out half that number. This makes a

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total of 750 a day, single shift, or 1,500 running at full capacity. This may seem like a lot of rifles, but it means that *we would have to wait nearly two years to get a million rifles,* and *a million would last an army of eighty thousand men only a year at the usual allowance of a rifle a month in service.*

Considering further that it took nearly three years to fit up the Rock Island Arsenal (having Springfield as a model and copying all the machines, fixtures and methods), the time required to fit out addition rifle plants can easily be calculated. So, if we need rifles, *and we do,* it is time to get busy without delay.

A thousand shops should be able to turn out a large amount of ammunition, but it is hardly a drop in the bucket to what is being used on the Western battle front. It must be remembered that these thousand shops are not making complete ammunition in hardly any case. One shop is forging shells, another turning them up, another making the brass powder cases, another the fuses, while the primers for firing the powder charge is made in still another.

Then there is the maker of the shell nose-plug which keeps the dirt out during shipment and handling, and before the fuse is finally screwed into place, as well as the lead or tin foil covering which protects the time fuse from moisture until it is ready to be fired. Some shops are loading, some making boxes for shipment, still others making the balls for shrapnel, and so on down the list. From Maine to Missouri I have seen some of these various parts being made in tremendous quantities. How many, would be the veriest guess work, as numbers mean little after you get over four figures.

One forging plant is turning out over ten thousand three-inch shells every twenty-four hours. Another single plant is turning up an equal number from forgings obtained from various places. Still another forging plant is turning out fifteen thousand a day by a different method and is enlarging to make its capacity twenty-five thousand a day. One fuse shop I visited had worked up from two thousand fuses a day to seventy-five hundred, and hoped to reach the twenty-thousand-per-day mark before my next visit. This contract is for about three million fuses.

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One shop makes nothing but one size and makes money on the contract. Another has nine different sizes and shapes, mostly for poor little Serbia, and has a tough proposition from a money-making standpoint. One old-fashioned shop is making both a one-pound shell and some twelve-inch shrapnel, boring the latter from the solid bar because forgings cannot be obtained. In others makeshift machines have been used and used successfully, showing that a good mechanic will find a way out of a difficulty if he has half a chance. But when it comes to production in large quantities, mass production, as the engineers like to call it nowadays, the " ex-barber " has the call.

One munition shop in a small town away from the beaten paths was formerly a shop where all-steel coffins were made a few years ago when an attempt was made to introduce them as the correct thing in last resting places. The fashion never obtained a very strong hold and it so happened that they had about five hundred perfectly good steel coffins on hand, stored away in various barns in the neighborhood. So, instead of spending money for wooden boxes and still further depleting our supply of timber, some bright mind conceived the idea of using these steel coffins for shipping the shells. After one gets over the first shock, it seems the most appropriate kind of a shipping case imaginable.

While the wages, mentioned previously, are, of course exceptional, there has been a big advance all along the line, even in shops not making munitions of any kind. This has been made necessary in order to hold men away from munition plants and to get out orders which are indirectly due to the war. It is, in fact, difficult to say how far the present activities in all lines of machine work are dependent on the making of munitions. For there are hundreds of men at work building machinery or parts of machinery, which, in its turn, is used to build machines for making munitions, and one hardly knows where the chain stops.

Besides higher wages, shorter hours in many cases can be traced directly to the munition work. Bridgeport and Springfield are concrete examples. And instead of being a handicap as some predicted, it is sure to be beneficial, as it gives them the pick of

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the best men in ordinary times as well as at present. Hundreds of men have left surrounding cities in which the manufacturers are still thinking in terms of the past, and the effect is already being felt. Not only is this being felt in shops but housekeepers are having difficulty in keeping servants, even around New York, owing to the more attractive wages paid in loading plants.

Just how the shorter day works out in practice may perhaps be shown by munition plants working two shifts of men. The night shift is usually much longer than the day shift, owing to custom and the fact that men do not care to go home in the wee small hours. But in every case of which I know the day shift turns out more work in from two to three hours less time, than the night shift. This is, in a small measure, due to the difference in lighting, but this cannot account for nearly all the difference in output per hour.

In view of this, and all shop men have known it for years, it is difficult to understand the dogged opposition to the eight-hour day on the part of the managers of plants. This is especially true at present when high prices and urgent demand make it an ideal time to inaugurate a change of this kind. In fact it will enable three eight-hour shifts to be put in. This is being done in some of the more progressive shops.

One of the indirect effects of the rush for munitions felt by those who are now buying machinery for its manufacture, is in the inaccuracies that creep into machines built under pressure. Many machines from shops of known reputation are found to lack the proper alignment, to be out a few thousandths of an inch here and there, and to require much costly doctoring before they can be made to turn out their accustomed accurate work as they should. These are known as "war machines" by the foremen who have them to contend with. There are, however, a few of the more conservative builders, not always the oldest or the largest, who have religiously maintained accuracy. Some of them have refused to run nights on this account, turning down orders rather than risk their reputation for good work. There are even some who have refused to raise prices beyond the point made necessary by the advance in materials and labor. But these are few and far between and prices have been boosted out

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of sight in most cases. Many firms are going on the principle of "after us, the deluge" and milking the market dry as they go along. They say frankly that they will retire and care not what comes after. But the men who buy such plants in the hope of continuing the business have my sympathy, not to mention a reputation to live down.

Perhaps the most interesting case I have found is a comparatively small shop, run by two of the best mechanics I have ever met, who handled the whole problem in a novel way and made barrels of money in doing it. Work was slack and they figured on a shell contract and got it. Instead of trying to buy machines at high prices they utilized what they had by making ingenious fixtures and special tools. They built the only home-made machine I've seen for squeezing on the copper bands, and it is a good one, and cheap. And they are making shells in less time than some of the larger shops I know of. They have made all new tools and fixtures for less than the money they get for the scrap or waste metal turned from the shells, and they are making forty per cent profit on the job. Then, too, when the shell game is over, and prices of machines get back to normal, they can buy new machines for their shop instead of having some more or less special machines which are half worn out.

This same firm is doing another interesting thing which is both unusual and interesting. They have a large contract for brass pieces which they are machining for nothing, the brass being supplied them. They get the scrap brass or turnings. On this particular contract they are making even more than on the shells. Scrap material has to be figured very carefully when it is selling at from 35 to 45 cents a pound.

Our experience gained in making munitions in this country is one of the best forms of preparedness we could have. And this experience is being condensed and crystallized by the technical papers for future use when necessary.

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THE CHILD IN ME

MARY RILEY SMITH

1

SHE follows me about My House of Life
(This happy little ghost of my dead youth!)
She has no part in Time's relentless strife,
She keeps her old simplicity and truth
And laughs at grim mortality—
This deathless child that stays with me—
This happy little ghost of my dead youth!

2

My House of Life is weather-stained with years—
(O Child in Me, I wonder why you stay?)
Its windows are bedimmed with rain of tears,
Its walls have lost their rose—its thatch is grey:
One after one its guests depart—
So dull a host is my old heart—
O Child in Me, I wonder Why *You* stay!

3

For jealous Age whose face I would forget
Pulls the bright flower you give me from my hair
And powders it with snow—and yet—and yet
I love your dancing feet and jocund air,
And have no taste for caps of lace
To tie about my faded face:
I love to wear *your* flower in my hair!

4

O Child in Me, leave not My House of Clay
Until we pass together through its door!
When lights are out, and Life has gone away
And we depart to come again no more,
We Comrades, who have travelled far,
Will hail the twilight and the star
And gladly pass together through the Door!

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THE CONSTRUCTIVE WORK OF THE WILSON ADMINISTRATION

VICE-PRESIDENT THOMAS R. MARSHALL

THE VICE-PRESIDENT POKES DROLLERY AT THE CRITICS OF THE WILSON ADMINISTRATION, BUT BENEATH THE PERSIFLAGE AND BADINAGE IS THE RAPIER OF A FEARLESS DEFENDER, AND THE VICE-PRESIDENT MAINTAINS THAT:

THE BITTEREST COMPLAINTS AND ATTACKS FOR THE COUNTRY'S UNPREPARED CONDITION COME FROM THE PARTY RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS CONDITION.

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN A GENUINE LEADER IN THE OLD-TIME SENSE OF LEADERSHIP.

TAXATION SHOULD NOT TAKE MONEY FROM THE MANY FOR THE FEW.

THE RIGHT TO CREATE CORPORATIONS CARRIES WITH IT THE DUTY TO CONTROL THEM.

THE STATE SHOULD PROTECT INDIVIDUALS FROM THE GREED OF OTHER INDIVIDUALS.

THE SEAMAN'S ACT WAS THE FREEDOM OF SLAVERY ON THE SEA.

THE REFORM OF THE CURRENCY INSURES STABILITY IN FINANCES.

RURAL CREDITS WILL DO FOR THE FARMER WHAT REFORMED CURRENCY DID FOR THE FINANCIER.

IN that spirit of humility which so well becomes a Vice-President of the United States, I was enjoying my after-dinner cigar in the smoking compartment of a Pullman and listening to a political argument which can always be heard there. A full-blooded, heavy-featured man, who seemed on the verge of an apoplectic seizure, was doing most of the talking. His voice as well as his face revealed inner excitement; and he gave expression to his words by viciously pounding with his

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fists. He was decrying the Wilson Administration and everybody connected with it and everything done by it.

The President was a blue-nosed Presbyterian, a college president—and his sneer gave significance to his words; the Vice-President was a country lawyer with a narrow, Hoosier outlook; the Secretary of State was a polished clerk who signed his name to what the President wrote; the Secretary of the Treasury was a socialist with the additional qualification of having married into the President's family; the Secretary of War was a second Tom Johnson; the Attorney General was an old fogy; and the Secretary of the Navy did not know a submarine from a dreadnought.

Each member of the official family was taken up in turn. The Secretary of Agriculture was all right; but what had agriculture to do with real prosperity? The chief asset of the Secretary of Commerce was a set of side-whiskers; and the Secretary of Labor seemed to think that a working man possessed certain rights and was entitled to three meals a day. Now and then, he named an official in the administration whom he deemed to be fairly sensible; but, in the main, the entire crowd at Washington was made up of fools,—fools because they seemed to be possessed with an idea that the government could so adjust its laws as to guarantee a real opportunity for success to every man.

Feeling sure that my travelling cap and horn glasses would continue to protect me against recognition, I ventured to inquire whether he regarded the gentlemen at Washington as knaves as well as fools. He promptly replied:— "No, they're honest enough all right. They're not wise enough to be dishonest. I don't question their purpose nor their faith in the things they're doing; but they are not competent to be in charge of the government." Becoming a bit bolder, I suggested that the people of America might prefer simple honesty to a combination of wisdom and knavery and that, however foolish and however mistaken the legislation of the Wilson Administration might be, it might commend itself to a majority of the people, in view of the fact that it had been honestly inspired. But he would have none of it.

Many times since, I have recalled to mind that smoking-com-

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partment conversation and each time my conviction grows that throughout the governmental fabric woven by the Democrats at Washington runs a golden thread of honesty which is traceable from the very beginning and seems to grow brighter and brighter as the fabric enlarges. And I feel compelled to deny that the work of the administration has been as foolish as my friend seemed to think. No honest man can be wholly foolish. No legislative enactment which has an honest purpose can be utterly valueless, and no executive act inspired by honesty can fail to be beneficent. Epithets do not convince or convict. Calling the President a "blue-nosed Presbyterian" proves no more than calling Mr. Justice Hughes a "Baptist hypocrite," or Colonel Roosevelt a "Dutch Reformed dinosaur." Unwittingly, my Pullman friend was really lauding the administration; for the pages of history are full of verifications of the Scriptural statement that "God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise."

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR LACK OF PREPAREDNESS?

Let us recall under what difficulties the Wilson Administration began its work and examine a few of the many things it has done, and let us thereby determine for ourselves whether the results of the administration's efforts, admittedly put forth, as my friend conceded, in the interest of no particular class of citizens but with an eye single to the commonweal, may truthfully be characterized as foolish. But, by way of parenthesis, I wish to observe that criticism is the easiest of accomplishments. *It is with difficulty that I preserve my serenity of mind when I hear vociferous complaints directed at the present administration because of our country's unprepared condition to defend itself against aggression,* particularly so *when these complaints are voiced by the very men who in former administrations had charge of our army and navy and fortifications.* I am sometimes reminded by these complaints of an incident at Jeffersonville, Indiana, one morning when I was boarding a train for Indianapolis. A large concourse of colored people were at the station, laughing and talking and bidding good-bye to one of

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their number who was dressed in deep mourning and wore a long crêpe veil which trailed to the ground behind her. The sheriff of the county who knew me explained that he was taking the woman to the prison at Indianapolis to begin a life sentence. I asked him for what she was convicted and he stated for the murder of her husband. I then asked him for whom she was wearing mourning and he replied: "For that same husband."

I am hoping that too many crêpe veils will not be worn this campaign because of our unpreparedness.

But to return to a consideration of the conditions under which the Wilson Administration came into power and of some of the things which it has accomplished,—and I wish to make clear at the beginning that I am not writing for the expert nor for the man with a grievance, but as an old-fashioned American I am seeking merely to make a plain exposition for the consideration of that part of our population which does not become excited over non-essentials in a political campaign. No mere mortal can with any degree of authority say how much or how little present conditions are affected by the slaughter of the innocents at the command of the Herods of Europe. Each of us has his own particular view, and data by which to check up are lacking. There will be, therefore, no attempt to express an opinion as to the effect, or to take the effect, itself, into consideration.

WILSON A LEADER, NOT A FOLLOWER

Immediately following his selection by his party, Woodrow Wilson became its sole leader through a unanimity of belief on the part of Democrats everywhere,—a unanimity that surprised even Democrats themselves. This leadership has been re-enforced in numerous ways and at numerous times when developments in critical instances have proven him to be right when other great men feared that he might be wrong. *His leadership has been so pronounced as to make the achievements of the Democratic Administration his own achievements.* This does not in any way discredit those who are assisting in the accomplishment of the work the President has set out to do. It rather adds to their intelligence and honor as it adds to his renown.

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For it is apparent that in the enactment and enforcement of law there must be an arbiter—some one to have the final say as to the course to be pursued. The baton of leadership remains in his hands and the Democratic Party presents a serene and serried front to its ancient enemy.

In considering the constructive legislation of the administration, we must remember that legislation properly defined means more than the writing of laws in our books of statutes. An enactment cannot be considered by itself, for the legislative body which brought it into existence had to consider how the court might construe it, how the people might feel about it, and how it might affect the conduct of mankind. He is not wise who is not just and he is not just who does not consider these points in determining the benefits and injuries of an administration's service.

It is the happy faculty of language that words change their meaning with the changing centuries. Truth undoubtedly is always the same; but different positions afford different views of her features. The constructive legislation of the Wilson Administration has newly defined some old-time expressions. It was never denied that every human being had an inalienable right to life. Under previous administrations this was construed to mean that a man had a right to breathe, to eat if he could get anything to eat, to work and to earn such wage as his employer might be willing to pay; also, that other men were inherently entitled to assistance by the government in their business enterprises and to divide among themselves wonderful profits which the government enabled them to make. This, of course, was for the common good. It was strenuously insisted that the doctrine of protection for protection's own sake aided every citizen in the Republic either directly or remotely. Revenue bills were passed for the purpose of building up the infant industries of the United States and of making the Republic self-sufficient in any hour of stress.

Yet, during the present administration, after the European war had disclosed that some of our manufacturers were in a helpless condition because of their inability to procure German dyestuffs, it was established that their helpless condition grew out

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of the fact that the textile manufacturers of America had objected to a sufficient tariff upon these German dye-stuffs to enable the building up of dye-manufactories in this country and that they had objected because they could buy far cheaper in Germany. Just now they are clamoring for a protective tariff upon dye-stuffs not because they need it and in spite of the fact that their profits are enabling them to pay for their plants in one year, but because they fear that with the close of the war competition will reappear and that they will not be able to meet it. Who now doubts that previous tariff bills were enacted in the interests of a few pampered and favored industries and at their behest? And who now doubts that the definition of the right to live meant one thing to one man in America and another to another?

With this as one of the numerous examples of the former and usual method of making tariffs, I do not think the people will pay much heed to the solemn warning of our Republican friends not to forget that temporary prosperity is not necessarily permanent.

I do not propose to take up the different schedules of the Underwood-Simmons Tariff Law. It suffices to point out that no one has had the hardihood to charge that any ulterior motive inspired the schedules or that any private interest was subserved by any one of them. Under normal conditions the new law would have raised ample revenue to meet governmental expenditures. Under the changed conditions traceable to the European War, it may need revision; but a revision, if made, should be scientific and should be conducted not by the friends of those who may be affected by the revision but by economists who are interested only in that larger definition which promises an equalization of burdens upon the shoulders of men as well as an equality of opportunities for men.

PRINCIPLES OF TAXATION

Under the Wilson Administration, *the theory of taxation does not contemplate any surreptitious transfer of money from the people to a favored few,* but contemplates the preservation of the individual in his person and the preservation of his accu-

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mulated wealth; neither does it contemplate that funds shall be taken exclusively from an individual as an individual, but that an individual shall pay a just proportion of taxes that the government may secure him in his life and liberty and wealth,—in other words, that the wealth of the country shall pay its proportion of taxes for its own preservation. This is splendidly exemplified in the Underwood-Simmons Law which provides an equitable adjustment between the tax which is levied upon the individual by consumption and upon the incomes of the rich to as to distribute fairly the burden of taxation between the persons and the property of the Republic.

DUTY TO CONTROL CORPORATIONS

Definitions as applied to government have been enlarged by the constructive legislation of the Wilson Administration. *A right is* no longer a mere right. It is *a dualism—right and responsibility*. The Union is as much as ever a union of states and the states have as many rights as they ever possessed. Among these is the inherent right to provide for the organization of corporations. The general government has in no wise attempted to abridge this right; but the Wilson Administration has very sharply reminded the states that *the right to create carries with it the responsibility to control* and even to destroy if the corporation organized by the state conducts itself in such manner as to be inimical to the welfare of an unshackled citizenship. The complaints of corporate abuses, some justified, many unwarranted, which have vexed our ears for many years agone might never have been heard and the causes of these complaints might have been entirely eliminated had the state in its corporate capacity exercised its power to regulate and if need be to destroy, for no General Assembly was ever so corrupt as to be willing to write into its statute books an enactment for the organization of a corporation which in its actual workings would be permitted to do an injury to even the humblest citizen. So the Wilson Administration, believing as it does in the doctrine of states rights, nevertheless holds that with those rights go responsibilities and that the general government must, because of

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the intimate social and business relations between the several states, exercise supervisory power and redress grievances whenever the states refuse to correct the evils which the states have brought into existence through their power to organize. This is simply an adaptation of the principle that the proper place for the training of the youth of the land and of teaching respect for the law is in the home and that, if the home fails to discharge this duty, the public school may attempt to do so, and that, if the school fails, then the penal arm of the state shall administer corrective punishment to the youth.

The administration believes that the same principles which work so well in sociology may be applied to politics and economics. We now know that mere punishment does not lessen crime and our sociological movement is toward prevention rather than toward punishment. Theories are constantly being pushed aside by conditions. The day when the father was an actual guardian of his child gave way to the day when the court might say whether the father or the mother should have the child and that day has given way to this good day when the court may say that the child shall be placed with neither parent but where the child itself will be the best off. Theoretically, my house is yet my castle, within which I may be a beast with lower pleasures and a beast with lower pains. Theoretically, not even the king may pass its threshold without my consent; but, practically, no man, because of our increased population with its resultant congestion, now may live unto himself. I may wish to pasture my cow in my front yard and keep my pig in the parlor, but the larger definition of life which fixes the relation of the individual to the community says to me,—nay. And so the sanitary conditions of my home are a matter of public interest and public control regardless of the correctness of the theory upon which the home is established. Theoretically, I have control of my own children, but the state has an interest to see that they do not grow up to be vicious and criminal; and, if I neglect my duty to them, the state may, regardless of all theories, intervene and look after them.

The business men of America may be divided into two classes, honest business men and dishonest ones. Theoretically, the

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state has no right to interfere with the business of any man until he has violated some law. But the Wilson Administration in believing that the principles of sociology, which look to the prevention of crime rather than to its punishment, may well be applied to governmental affairs, created a Federal Trade Commission whose business it is to correct business by suggestion and advice and to curb those business men who are inclined to go wrong by admonition and reproof. The government has no desire to see business men pass into the dishonest or criminal class. It wishes to do everything it can to keep them in the class of honest men. And it is for the good of business men themselves as well as for their country that unfair practices cease. Our country and the world at large will never return to the theory that nothing shall be done by the government to prevent its citizens from becoming criminal.

DUTY TO PROTECT FROM GREED

Into the definition of liberty has been written *the duty of the state to free the individual* as far as possible *from the greedy encroachments of other individuals.* Therefore, the enactments of the Wilson Administration which have been characterized as socialistic—notably the acts to build the Alaskan Railroad and to establish an armor plate plant and a nitrate plant—are not socialistic, and are not due to any desire upon the part of the administration to subvert the individualistic principles of Thomas Jefferson. If this Republic ever drifts into a socialistic democracy—and if it does it will be to my everlasting regret—it will do so not by virtue of democratic principles but because self-appointed trustees under God have placed burdens too grievous to be borne upon the shoulders of those for whom they claim to be acting as trustees.

There never was a reason why the railroad as a common carrier should not have been compelled to carry small packages as well as large ones; but it did not receive them and was not compelled to do so, and as accessories to railroad transportation there grew up the express companies. These companies imposed unjust charges, sought to escape the just burdens of taxa-

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tion, evaded state laws, and declared large dividends. The people finally demanded and received the parcels post, not because they wanted socialism but because they wanted redress, and when the Wilson Administration increased the maximum weight of parcels post packages, the express companies made admissions through their acts which were startling. For instance, in a state where the public service commission had fixed express rates and the company had procured an injunction on the ground that the rate was confiscatory, the companies themselves voluntarily reduced their rates to a point below that fixed by the commission, thereby impressing all citizens with the fact that during the years prior to the enlargement of the weight of the parcels package, they had been overcharged and duped by the company.

JUSTIFIES THE SEAMEN'S ACT

Ninety millions and more of Americans would undoubtedly be unutterably shocked to hear that a laboring man whose feet were upon American soil could not quit his job if he wanted to and whenever he wished, and they, save here and there an isolated man, would resent the declaration that labor is a commodity just like pork and beans and bread. Yet, for seven hundred years, *the sailor upon the high seas was as much a slave as our black man of the South before the Civil War.* As an artisan, I might be engaged in roofing a house with a storm arising and I could consult my own wishes as to whether I should seek to conclude the work before the storm broke or throw my hammer down and quit, and my only liability would be a civil one in its character. But if I had signed as a sailor and was serving under a brute of a master with insufficient food and rest, I could not quit even if I reached an American port and, if I did quit, would have been hounded like a criminal by the officers of the United States, arrested if they located me, put back on board the vessel and sent out of the harbor.

Marine disasters had been met at sea by an insufficient number of lifeboats inefficiently manned by crews made up of men many of whom were in no sense seamen but who were employed

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on board as stewards and waiters. The crew of many a vessel did not contain more than forty per cent. who in the hour of danger could understand the commands given from the deck. But under the Wilson Administration all this has been changed by the Seamen's Act so ably championed by Senator LaFollette of Wisconsin. *The sailor now is a free man and his contracts are similar to those of other men. The crying need of the American people may be for a merchant marine; but this people in their sober judgment will prefer to sail painted ships on painted oceans rather than to return to the former conditions of marine slavery.* They will not ignore humanity and liberty that commerce may thrive. They will find another way to encourage commerce.

REFORMED CURRENCY SYSTEM

A larger meaning has been written into the definition of liberty. Use of the word is no longer confined to the expression of the right of a man to do as he pleases within the limitations of the law, to take part in political discussions, freely to write and speak his opinion upon all subjects and concerning all persons; but its use is enlarged to embrace his right to use such property and such credit as he may have in the gainful occupations of life without endangering himself of being swept into bankruptcy through the foolish and illegal financial ventures of persons with whom he has no business connection. For fifty years, the Republican Party suffered and permitted a banking and currency system to be upheld by the law of the land which, briefly put, permitted a bank to urge you to take money when you had no use for it and to insist upon its repayment when you needed it. The banker, himself, was not to blame for this condition of affairs. Speculation and the movement of crops produced stringencies in the money market. A bank naturally would be uncertain as to how its depositors might feel under the circumstances. Therefore, at the least financial disturbance, the banker would begin to insist upon the payment of loans that he might fortify his institution against runs and be enabled to meet not only the just but very frequently the mistaken demands of his depositors. There was no way in which to prevent the deposits

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of the entire country from going to that part of it which engaged in speculation and which could afford to pay the greater interest. This unfortunate condition of affairs was recognized by all thoughtful men; but the Republican Party offered no solution, being afraid to approach the subject lest, by its interference with fixed conditions, it might bring on a panic. No one ever dreamed that the local banker was calling in his loans because he wanted to call them in. His desire was to extend credit to the limit of the responsibility of his customers, but so stringent were the banking laws, both civil and criminal, that the collection of his loans became an imperative necessity, and the banker was gradually falling into disrepute with the masses of the American people, into a disrepute that was undeserved. It was the condition of the law and not his attitude of mind which drove the banker to his course of conduct.

The Wilson Administration had not only *the courage* but the ability *to put upon the statute books of the Republic the most advanced and perfect banking law in the world.* And this law has solved our problems. It keeps the deposits of the country from flowing into any one particular channel and divides them up among different regional banks. It gives elasticity to our currency. It enables a bank to procure currency upon its loans instead of compelling it to force payment of them, and thereby to hamper the business enterprises of the honest and solvent debtor. This constitutes a larger degree of liberty for the individual. It gives him the right to proceed with his business affairs without the fear of being embarrassed or crippled by some sudden flurry in the money market. He now knows that money will be obtainable when he needs it and that, if he is prudent and economical, his banker will not drive him into bankruptcy. No liberty will ever again be worth the having unless it guarantees to the individual citizen his right to succeed if he have the ability to spell success.

In the midst of such unprecedented financial conditions as the world had never seen, the new banking and currency system stood the test. It has encouraged and promoted our business interests, has made stable our enterprises and has enabled the honest and solvent debtor to devote his entire time to his busi-

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ness rather than to worrying over the question whether his credit might be suddenly withdrawn.

RURAL CREDITS

In consonance with this idea Congress has passed a Rural Credits Bill which probably will become a law soon if it has not by the time this article is read. Wealth naturally drifts to the centres of population and to the older districts of the country. The farmer, so long as he can be, is a pioneer. His lands are distant from the sources of money supply. He is not a lawyer, a banker, nor a financier. He is not familiar with the best ways in which to obtain money and, even though he were a lawyer, banker and financier, he is compelled to pay a greater rate of interest than is consistent with his vocation, because of the deviousness of the avenues to the money. This Rural Credits Bill will bring together the farmer who needs money to improve his lands, and the man who desires safe and long-time loans. A spirit of justice impels the statement that there was no partisan dispute about the need for this legislation. The fact remains that it was accomplished under the Wilson Administration.

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

This administration has recognized the fact that whenever a theory comes in sharp conflict with a condition, the theory must go down. Regardless of how we may theorize as to the right of government to aid its citizens in fitting themselves for the very best conditions in life, its practical duty to do so will never again be seriously disputed. For a long time we had cheerfully acquiesced in the doctrine that it was both the right and the duty of the State to educate its citizens along literary lines; but it remained for this administration to educate our farmers along the lines of their special calling. By the Smith-Lever Agricultural Bill, passed by a unanimous vote of both branches of Congress, the government extends assistance to farm extension work with a view to educating the farmer to greater efficiency and to increasing the productiveness of American farms, thereby

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adding to the income of the individual farmer and at the same time reducing the cost of living to the man who is not a farmer. So great has been the increase in urban population that if the sun should cease to shine and the rain to fall and the farmer to work, in twenty-two months, it is estimated, the entire American population would starve to death, even though all our products were kept at home. It is not at all wonderful, therefore, that with these few days between comparative luxury and absolute starvation, the Democratic Party should deem it its duty as well as its right to make appropriations looking not only to larger crops for the farmer and cheaper prices for the consumer but also to the lengthening of that period between plenty and famine.

The civilization of a people is largely marked by the condition of their highways. Speedy communication both for mails and products is most desirable in this twentieth century. A good roads bill establishing a joint partnership between the general government and the several states has been passed. This bill extends federal aid in the building of new roads, matching dollar for dollar, up to a certain total, money appropriated by the states.

The Department of Agriculture, one of the most valuable departments of the government, is being splendidly encouraged in its work. It accomplished the stupendous task of stamping out the hoof and mouth disease with appropriations wisely appropriated by the Congress and wisely expended, under the able direction of Secretary Houston. The department is expending large sums to preserve and increase the fruits and crops of the country. These are mere samples of the kind of legislation written upon nearly every page of the statute books for three years,—legislation which may be summarized as promoting the general welfare by helping those who are helpless without harming others.

There are those who believe—and I include myself in the number—that the real statutes of a people are not written in books of statutes, but that they are written upon the hearts and consciences of mankind. The most constructive of the work of the Wilson Administration has been the rewriting on the minds and hearts of the American people of that statute which declares that nothing pays permanently which is not just, and that statute

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has been written upon the hearts and minds of men of both high and low degree. Voluntarily, interlocking directorates are disappearing. Corporation managers are scrutinizing their business affairs, not for the purpose any longer of putting them exclusively to the touch of profit, but for the purpose of considering them in the light of right and wrong. The withdrawal of Mr. Morgan and his partners from the directorates of twenty-seven different corporations has been followed by like conduct upon the part of other men. The voluntary dissolutions of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company and of other well-known corporations, reveal the new corporate attitude, which is, that business is no longer just business,—that now, it is justice as well as success. It may have been thought when the Wilson Administration came into power that there would be nothing more than a shifting of the benefits of government from certain favored persons to other favored persons; but the lobby investigation promptly disillusioned prospective beneficiaries as well as the public. From the very beginning the legislative business of the Wilson Administration, whether wise or foolish, has been conducted without a trace of suspicion that any motive was the source of inspiration save the motive to promote the common welfare.

Thomas Love Peacock, that delightful satirist and novelist of the early years of the nineteenth century, gives in his "Maid Marian" an account of the formation under law of Robin Hood's Merry Band of Foresters and of the practical workings of its laws. Friar Tuck immediately became a beneficiary and upon complaint that the laws were "turning discipline into profit, penalty into perquisite, public justice into private revenue," promptly replied: "Why are laws made? For the profit of somebody. Of whom? Of him who makes them first, and of others as it may happen. Was not I legislator in the last article and shall I not thrive by my own law?"

In the years agone, it was regarded as perfectly legitimate that those who contributed the most in the way of money to the victory of a political party should receive rewards in legislation from that party. So little regard was given this ancient

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belief in the constructive legislation of the Wilson Administration that the belief soon fell into innocuous desuetude; yea, more than that happened, for the eyes of good men were opened to the injustice of such legislative procedure. Injustice does not always come from evil-mindedness. It is just as likely to spring from precedent. This change was so startling that it brought from Elihu Root the remarkable admission that the people of New York had for many years been living under an Invisible Government and that its officials had been his personal and political friends. When an administration by the course of its legislation and its method of law enforcement secures a voluntary confession of error from an Attorney General of the Invisible Government, the people well may applaud.

Legislation is more comprehensive than mere statutory enactment in that it embraces not only the law written by Congress, but also the Supreme Court's decision as to what Congress meant when it wrote it and the opinion of the people of it. Citizenship has been defined many times by Constitutions, by statutes and by judicial decisions; but the hyphenated-American has been recognized as a slightly different citizen from the everyday American. We have had Irish-Americans, and Franco-Americans, and German-Americans, and then just plain, old-fashioned Americans. The Wilson Administration has not sought to prevent America from continuing to be the melting-pot of the world, but it has insisted that the man of foreign birth in going into the pot shall melt into a genuine American and that in coming out, if he retains a more tender regard for any other land or more affection for any other institution than he holds for our Republic and her institutions, he is not an American, although he casts a ballot. There are two kinds of divorce known to the law, one, a vinculo matromonii; the other, a mensa et thoro. Our naturalization laws have been satisfied if the foreign-born citizen divorced himself by his oath of renunciation from the bed and board of his native country. The new naturalization law of the Wilson Administration, not written as a statute but accepted by the people, demands that the foreigner's oath of renunciation shall be a divorce from the bonds of matrimony to his country in thought, purpose and conduct.

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The most perfect government that the world has ever known was the old Jewish theocracy. God decreed in justice and mercy and His servants executed. But the cupidity and ambition of mankind did not suffer it to survive long in its purity. The next most perfect government is the individualistic American democracy. If it does not survive, its theory will not be at fault nor will it be because any political party desires its extinction. It will come to its fall because of the ambition and cupidity of a certain class of its citizens just as the Jewish theocracy went to its fall, for no honest man, however much he may be enamored of a system of government, is going to cling blindly to that system after he observes that in its practical workings it is doing injury to the commonweal.

But the curbing of cupidity so noticeable just now, the contraction of ambition within its lawful restraints, the prominence fair dealing has assumed in public affairs—these developments, which were first heralded by the golden thread of honesty which the Wilson Administration wove into the governmental fabric, will save our Republic from the fate of the Jewish theocracy and preserve America as the greatest apostle of God-given Democracy.

The leaders of the old thought which brought the Republican Party to its downfall are all back either upon the tickets or in charge of the party machinery. From Cannon to McKinley, from Penrose to Watson, the old guard stretches out its Jacobean hands seeking the people's blessing, and loudly proclaiming its willingness to die for the rights of man. But a suspicious electorate cynically asks, "What Man?"

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WHAT IS BEHIND THE JAPANESE PERIL?

SIGMUND HENSCHEN

[*This article is written by an authority, who regards the Japanese Peril as great.* THE FORUM *does not necessarily agree with the views expressed; but the views expressed are held by a great many Army and Navy officers.* THE FORUM *will issue in a subsequent number, an answer to this article.*]

THE CONTENTIONS OF THIS AUTHORITY ARE:

THERE IS A GREAT PERIL TO AMERICA IN JAPANESE AGGRESSION.

THE GREATEST DANGER IS TO AMERICAN OCCUPATION OF THE PHILIPPINES.

JAPAN HAS MENACED AMERICAN POSSESSIONS.

RESENTMENT TOWARDS THE UNITED STATES ARISES FROM MEMORIES OF THE PORTSMOUTH TREATY AND FROM FRICTION IN CALIFORNIA.

JAPAN IS BECOMING FRIENDLY TOWARDS GERMANY.

GUAM AND HAWAII ARE THREATENED.

JAPAN HAS GAINED BRITISH GOLD IN THE WAR BY SELLING MUNITIONS TO RUSSIA, WHO IS FINANCED BY ENGLAND.

THE Japanese are a greatly maligned people. They are our friends. They bear us no ill will. We do too much business together. Some of them love us. Noted Americans who have made the trip to Japan have told us so. Such a rare thinker as ex-President Eliot of Harvard has said so. Japanese noblemen who have visited this country have assured us of it. Americans who have been received at the Japanese Court credit only the highest motives to the Island Empire. Why should they quarrel with us?

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"I am not suffering from any vision," declared Captain Hobson before the House Committee on Naval Affairs. "In May, 1913, and some weeks afterwards, our canoneers on Corregidor Island were busy by day and night with their guns. The harbors were blockaded with mines and our troops were sent out. The government itself was ready to go to the Pacific Coast. The Secretary of the Navy is present. I will ask him. In case it is not true, he can deny it."

No, that didn't happen when Roosevelt was President. It is not an old war scare being dug out of forgotten things. Captain Hobson said those words on December 15th, 1914, and our Secretary of the Navy did not deny them. Such facts never get into the newspapers.

It was on May 20th, 1913, that a United States officer's command in an outlying district received an order to report at once to Manila. The order was from General Bell. That night the same order was received in every outlying post of the Philippine Islands. The mobilization of our troops in Manila began. Speed was the command; forced marches were necessary. Day and night, from all parts of the Island the United States troops converged towards Manila. The command of one officer covered 50 miles in 48 hours. Arriving in Manila they found that a strict censorship had been put on the cables. They learned that only one regiment of cavalry and two mountain batteries had been left at Camp Stotsenberg. Filipino scouts had been left in the outlying regions.

They learned their orders. All the American forces were to be concentrated on Corregidor Island. They were to prepare to combat a Japanese landing, the object of which was Manila. They were to hold out until the fleet came. If the Japanese landed at any other place, it was a foregone conclusion that they would overrun the Islands until they reached Manila. In Manila, everything but guns, ammunition and food was abandoned. Infantry and light artillery were transported to Corregidor. The cavalry was too; but its horses were left behind. All the ammunition that could be gathered up around the Islands was brought to the fortress. It totaled 20,000 rounds—not enough for two days' hard fighting. We had more than the

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million rations for our forces. Thirteen million pesos in gold were taken from the Manila banks and stored on Corregidor. Fort McKinley was abandoned. The Fort on Grandee Island was regarded as untenable and dismantled. All the machines on the dry dock Dewey were put out of business.

We were very strong on Corregidor to combat the Japanese. Supplementing the fortress' armament, we had 40 pieces of field artillery. Our forces were large, too. In the Corregidor Garrison were 10 companies of Coast Artillery, 4,200 infantry men and 16 light field pieces. Of course, however, when reinforcements were brought in from outlying parts of the island we were much stronger—the force an enemy could land would only outnumber us about four to one.

Across the bay from Corregidor is a mountain. It faces the sea and descends towards Manila in a gradual slope. It was on the other side of this mountain that the Japs were expected to land. By so doing they would be protected from the guns of the fort. Accordingly we decided to defend the crest of this mountain which is called Marivales.

These are the forces that took positions on Marivales: the 13th and 24th Infantry, three companies of the 15th, three regiments of Field Artillery and one mountain battery. Gun emplacements were built, trenches were dug, barbed wire entanglements were strung up. Day by day messages from the War Department became more alarming; day by day, to prevent a panic, the people in Manila were told it was only a manœuvre; day by day for two months an enemy's fleet was expected—but it did not come. What happened?

Let us get into the diplomatic history of the month of May, 1913. The California legislature had passed the Bradford Bill, excluding the Japanese from holding land. The San Francisco *Chronicle* said "... the people of this State are overwhelmingly opposed to them (the Japanese) or any Orientals owning our land." This created an uproar in Japan. Every outcry of the Pacific Coast newspapers was cabled back to Japan and fanned to war heat. Of course those charming Japanese whom Americans have met here and in Japan, did not do the fanning. Neither did the Japanese people.

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The Mikado's Government sent a protest to our State Department. President Wilson requested Governor Johnson of California to relieve the situation. He quietly took up the matter with the Legislature which refused to make any concessions. The people of California are fanatics. The man sitting comfortably in the East could not see that the Californians were fighting for the homes of the small fruit farmers and the safeguarding of American community life against Orientalism. War demonstrations occurred in Tokio—Bryan left the Chautauqua Circuit flat and made a trip to California. He returned to Washington. The California Legislature refused to revoke the Bradford Bill. The diplomatic conversations in Washington became alarming. There came a cipher message to General Bell; there came our mobilization on Corregidor Island.

It was about this time that a beautiful word in diplomatic language was used. The word is "indisposed." The British Ambassador became "indisposed." To handle the post while this official was indisposed, there came to Washington a very charming English gentleman, Sir William Terrill. Sir William Terrill was well liked in France, Russia, Servia and Montenegro. Before the second Balkan War broke out, he was also well liked in Bulgaria. With Isolowsky, the Russian Ambassador to France, the brains of Sir William were responsible for the Balkan league against Turkey. European diplomats admire his rapier. They know him as the right hand man of Sir Edward Grey, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs. He is one of the most important diplomats on the British foreign office staff. Washington welcomed him with open arms.

Of course it was only a coincidence that Sir William Terrill came to Washington when an event of extreme importance to British diplomacy was in the air. It was the Panama Canal Tolls Controversy. Admirable moment, too—with the California Legislature running amuck against the Japanese. You see England and Japan were allies—they are still, but not such close allies—but more of that later.

One does not profess to know the conversation of Sir William Terrill. One merely knows the facts of the Washington situation and what happened. It is not difficult, however, to imagine

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Sir William smiling in his friendly way and saying, "You ask us to use our influence with Japan and call her off. We appreciate fully that you are our blood cousins, we like you, but is it reasonable, dear friends, to expect us to injure our relations with Japan while you are opposing us on the Panama Canal question? We should like to know, really,—but,——"

It happened. We renounced our coastal rights in the Panama Canal. Our boys on Corregidor were finally sent back to their posts. Japan was called off.

If anything has been implied against the Japanese, I'm sorry. They love us. Many of our great Americans have told us so. It's pretty hard not to love anybody when you get $20,000 for a single lecture. A club of Tokio paid that for a talk by a distinguished American.

Baron Shibusawa came to America. He is known as the Morgan of Japan. One might call him a Japanese Sir William Terrill. He made one mistake. He began his speeches in San Francisco. There is an American sentiment in San Francisco on Oriental immigration. It has no illusions about the English, the Germans, or the Japanese.

But why should Japan go to war with us? They trade with us. They are tax-ridden; they can't afford war. Let us first understand the Japanese! Do you know what Bushido is? It is something worse than Bernhardism. Bushido is a code that has been handed down to the Japanese from the Middle Ages. Its slogan is "Dai Nippon!" It goes "Deutschland Ueber Alles" one better. It means the glorification of the Japanese; and God help anybody who stands in their way. It teaches that no sacrifice is too great for the Mikado. It is the code of the Empire. Its power is so great in these modern days that, when his Emperor died, Nogi, hero of the Russian war, committed *hari-kari,* so that he might accompany his Emperor and safeguard him on his way to the Fields of Paradise. That happened but a few years ago, when one of the biggest men in Japan yielded to the doctrines of Bushido. It conclusively showed the enormous primitive feeling that is beneath the Japanese race.

You remember the Treaty of Portsmouth. You remember how Roosevelt stopped Japan's war with Russia and brought

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peace—a humane act, an act for which the Japanese people should be grateful. And secretly the Japanese Government was. But that wasn't their game. They didn't dare tell the Japanese people that they should be grateful for peace. Dai Nippon! What they told them was this—*"By treacherous diplomacy the United States Government robbed you out of an indemnity that Russia should have paid."*

Ask any American who has been to Japan, except those who have been wined and dined and had their mentality chloroformed! Exempt those who have an axe to grind, those who are making money out of the Japanese! Include all those who have an ounce of brains and who care enough for their country to tell the truth. You'll get the same answer—the Japs hate us.

Why? Go back to Portsmouth. On the field of battle, Japan was the victor. Potentially she was defeated; financially she was at the end of her rope. Her delegates came into the Portsmouth Conference with a chip on their shoulders. Being good diplomats, they demanded impossible peace terms. Baron Witte of Russia demurred. In a flash, the Japanese took him up, renounced their terms and signed peace without an indemnity.

Japanese money had built their army and navy. Japanese blood had gone out in the war. Did the Mikado's officials dare to say to the people, "We couldn't get any indemnity; you've got to pay higher taxes"? Instead they played the game cleverly. They turned their people against the one country that had been sympathetic with them in the war. They told them that the United States had robbed them of that indemnity. They fanned a hatred against us. They did this so they could build a bigger navy and a bigger army. They've been building this for only one reason.

But the Japs got Manchuria from Russia; that's colony enough. Glorious prize! Wondrous field for Japanese expansion! "The Orient for the Orientals"—beautiful phrase. Let us examine Manchuria! Since the Japanese War against Russia, they have colonized Manchuria. Thomas F. Maillard, Editor of the *China Press*, a deep student of Oriental affairs who has lived in the Orient, says that the Japanese colonization of Manchuria has been a crass failure. He points out that the

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Japanese Government made every concession to Japanese colonists; but it didn't work. And here is where you get to the kernel of the Japanese proposition; in day labor, a Japanese is no good against any other Oriental. His standard of living is higher. Chinamen or Koreans can undercut him any day. His paradise of competition is against Westerners. His paradise of competition is Mexico, the United States and Canada. There he undercuts, there he profits, there he multiplies. Korea and China are economically impossible for the Japanese outlet. They can trade but not create there. The logical resting place of this outlet is in Western civilization, and there the United States bars the way.

The majority of Americans are familiar with Hay and the policy of the Open Door in China. How many Americans know about the "Closed Door"? What do we care about China? A Republican Campaign Committee once coined a fundamental line. It was "Trade follows the Flag." It is rather difficult for the average man to see where he profits because somebody else does so many millions of dollars of untramelled business in China. Which gets us back to the involved question of how much foreign trade means in the pockets of the average American. There is no place for that here. But there is a place for that idea that a certain mass of people living under a Government owe something to the welfare of their country. It is the idea of throwing everything in the last analysis into a common pool, all for one and one for all. This is conscious nationalism. Of course it is only an ideal. Every nation in the European war has shown it has ideals—Japan too. We have ideals also—latent ideals. We are apt not to think about them until war comes—which is costly. All of which turns on the "Closed Door of China."

Do you know what happened when the German fortress in Tsing Tau fell? Tsing Tau, being a part of China, the Japanese declared war against Germany to get it. As Count Hayasi said at the outbreak of the present war, "She (Japan) will be able to reap advantage to herself." The Japanese got after Tsing Tau. The English did not like this. They insisted upon sending an Expeditionary Force to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Japanese. The Japs had ample military strength to capture

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that isolated German garrison. They did. The English came in at the death. The German commander surrendered his sword to the Japanese, who accepted it in the name of the Mikado. The English commander stepped forward and said: "And I accept it in the name of King George." The Japanese turned to the Englishman and said: "Do not trouble yourself! Tsing Tau has been captured by the Japanese." This was told to me by an eye-witness of the surrender. Its significance in view of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance is enormous.

Of course, being thousands of miles away, few Americans paid any attention when the Japanese subsequently made certain diplomatic demands upon China. We disapproved and being unprepared, ceased to disapprove. The Japanese demands practically meant a Japanization of China.

The map tells stories. It tells the story of Russia—and of China. Hordes of people. Is it so hard to conceive of Japanese efficiency going into China, using the resources of that country, turning out swarms of Chinese soldiers trained by Japan to fight with machines instead of gongs and lurid colored flags. They did that with their own country when it was in just as sleepy a condition.

But they don't want to fight us. They love us. Baron Shibusawa said so. They love us so much that they are deeply interested in our country and its possessions. The Intelligence Department of Manila in 1913, employed a man named ——. He became violently interested in two Japanese traders who were not interested in trading. He learned that they had offered the United States Infantry Sergeant a big sum of money if he would hand over the plans of Corregidor Fortress. The Sergeant told ——. —— drew up a fake set of plans. He told the sergeant to meet the Japanese and ask for $50,000. They met in a hotel in Manila. The sergeant delivered the fake set of plans and asked for $50,000. —— was in an adjoining room. The Japanese were disposed to haggle over the price. They returned the plans and asked if they could give the decision the following evening. —— rushed into the room. He placed the Japanese under arrest. The Japs had the fake

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plans but ultimately the Japs had to be released because no money had changed hands.

An American, whose name for obvious reasons must be withheld, did Secret Service work for us in Japan. He is personally known to the writer. He has a scar of a bullet on his forearm; he got it for going too close to the fortifications in the Harbor of Nagasaki, preferring the wound to a term in jail. He remained in Japan for an entire year. It was his business to mine for under strata of sentiment as well as to obtain military and naval knowledge. Time and time again he heard the subject of the Portsmouth Peace Conference brought up and always the Jap's attitude was that some day America would pay for it. He was informed that the defences of Nagasaki are impregnable. This condition of American spies in America leads to an inevitable conclusion. It is a certain forerunner of war.

The writer is personally acquainted with an officer formerly in charge of our Intelligence Department in the Philippines. He told me that the Japanese know everything about the Islands that is worth knowing. The Japanese have complete plans of the forts on Grandee Island; he knows that for a fact. The Japanese General Staff know every possible landing place in the Philippines; they have prepared maps and tactical reports so that when the day comes their officers will know which positions will be easier to hold and which position of ours could be attacked with success or with failure. The officer recognized many Japanese officers among "business men" who came to the Islands when he was in the Intelligence Department. He informed me particularly of cases of men who claimed to represent fish houses and who went to ports of the Philippines perfectly absurd from the point of view of their business. He said he always detailed some man in his department to follow them. He would always get a report that the Japanese "fish merchant" was using his camera at every opportunity. He said that the Japs were so clever in this work that it was extremely hard to catch them with anything incriminating. He said that their audacity was beyond belief. Once the Japanese Chief of Staff, a very well known man, sent his nephew to the Philippines armed with letters of introduction to the American authorities. The

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Intelligence Department was at a loss how to handle the case. For diplomatic reasons, they could not offend so high a man as the Japanese General of Staff. His nephew was commended to their hospitality. To protect themselves, the American Secret Service offered the distinguished visitor an escort of two officers to accompany him all around the Island. But the Jap politely declined, saying he did not wish to give the Americans any trouble. So they followed him. They saw he was taking extensive information but was putting nothing down on paper. They were powerless. They did not dare arrest him for lack of evidence. It was a General on duty in the Philippines who told me that if the Japanese struck, then, they could overrun the Islands in two weeks.

Come West. We are building new fortifications in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. A Japanese aviator turned up there. He was just a barnstormer who wanted to make some money on exhibition flights. Very suddenly he took it into his head to fly over the Pearl Harbor fortifications. Now that trip would have interested a Japanese military aviator. The Japanese General Staff would have prized any photographs of the Pearl Harbor defences taken from an aeroplane. Our military authorities stopped his flight. The Jap then had the effrontery to report the incident to Tokio as a "discourtesy" of the United States.

It is a fact known to our General Staff that there are more trained reserved soldiers in Hawaii than there are soldiers of the United States. Where would they get their equipment from in the event of war? Don't forget that during the Japanese riots in Vancouver, a Japanese boarding house was raided. It was found to contain stores of ammunition and machine guns. But, of course, if the Japanese had stored these so far west as the Pacific Coast, they would not take the trouble to store munitions in Hawaii. It is known to our military authorities that there are more Japanese who have served in their army on the Pacific Coast to-day than there are in the mobile field army of our country. This statement is at odds with the statistics of Japanese immigration. It is an open secret though that Japanese land in Lower California, Mexican soil, and then cross the border into the United States. The last estimate our military

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authorities had showed one quarter of a million Japs in Mexico. During the present trouble in Mexico, it has been established—although newspaper publication has been suppressed—that Japanese officers are with the Mexican trouble makers and that Japan has sold quantities of ammunition to Mexico. It must not be forgotten that Felix Diaz was sent on a special mission to Japan and that just recently Carranza sent one of his high officials on a similar visit. Of course we do not know what takes place at these conferences between Mexicans and Japs in Tokio, but one presumes that being military men they discuss the best ways of cultivating rice.

Come on further West! Never heard of Fonseca Bay? It is in Nicaragua. It is north of the Panama Canal. A number of Japanese were discovered there to be making soundings of the bay—an ideal landing place. The American Consul was informed. He lay in wait one day and discovered a Jap taking surveying and sounding instruments that were hidden under a bush on the edge of the harbor. He followed him. The Jap got into a boat that had been beached. The boat was manned by Japanese; they were seen to be surveying the harbor. Certain newspapers learned of the incident. Our State Department denied it. Of course for the Japs it was purely an innocent pastime.*

Come on North! You've heard of Turtle Bay. It is in Lower California. A Japanese warship went aground there. Too bad. The Japs needed four other warships to get it off. It took four weeks to get that single warship off. To get it off, the Japanese had to make landing parties and overrun the entire region thereabout. Of course, being in Turtle Bay and having sounding instruments aboard all these warships, the Japs did not use them.

Of this affair a high United States officer told me, "We know that the Japanese incident at Turtle Bay was not an accident, we have reason to believe that they deliberately ran a warship aground so as to give them an excuse to make observations and to prepare Turtle Bay as a landing place. We criticized the action of the Secretary of the Navy in permitting the Japanese to land there and to remain there for two weeks—time enough

*The incident is also well known in certain Central American circles.

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to make a survey of the terrain to choose artillery emplacements and, for all we know, to build wireless stations—wherefore it was criminal to allow them to remain there for two weeks before even investigating what business they had there."

Come further North! The Japanese have been caught with the plans of San Francisco forts in their possession. American officers there are no longer allowed to have Japanese servants. But that is, of course, because the Japs do not know how to cook. The Japanese have been caught taking the depths of the unfortified harbor of Monterey, where troops could easily be landed. But, of course, the Japanese were taking depths so as to know where to place fishing nets.

The Japs have been caught in California near the Mexican border and near the border of the State of Washington, where complete data on the terrain has been found in their possession. But of course, being an ambitious race, the Japs are desirous of improving themselves in surveying. They have been caught by army officers in the passes of our Western mountains. But of course they want to know these passes; for some day they may be tourist guides.

The Japanese have not forgotten an incident that took place in California. When the squadron of Rear Admiral Yashiro was lying off the coast, a ball was given in their honor in a hotel in Pasadena. "We would just as soon dance with ——— (a disparaging epithet)," remarked a young woman of Pasadena,—which remark was at once reported in the California newspapers. Rear Admiral Yashiro caused the ball to be postponed, and at once reported the incident to his government as an insult. A few days afterwards, according to previous plans, school children of North Beach were to visit the Japanese squadron. They were about to take the car for San Pedro, when a telegram from Rear Admiral Yashiro told them that they would not be received. The Japs do not forget.*

They have been caught around New York. Last summer in a certain boarding house, north of New York City, there stayed a young Japanese surveyor, well liked, by all the ladies in the

*It was, of course, an unfortunate and ill-timed remark, which only people who have lived close to coolie laborers from the Orient understand.

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house, for his charming manners. The young Jap was a college student. He was supplementing his University course by surveying work in the field. He spent much of his time surveying that approach to New York from the North which is called "The line of the Harlem Valley." One day he made a trip to the ———— Inn. The Inn was a charming place. Two Germans, whose names have frequently appeared in our newspapers, stayed there. The Jap, when the surveying was finished, went to see them. But of course the Jap went to discuss the works of Goethe.

Which takes us back to the Orient. Since the beginning of the European War, Japan has been playing ducks and drakes with the British Far Eastern Policy. They have not sent a soldier to Europe; they have not sent a warship to Europe. What they have been doing is this: they have been getting fat on American money. American bankers have loaned the money to England and France. These nations have passed it on to Russia. Russia has passed it on to Japan. The Japanese in return have given guns and ammunition.

Outside of ourselves, they are the one important foreign nation that has been getting powerful on the war. Most of the ammunition factories in Japan are Government owned. The Government has been getting the money. The Government, seeing England with its hands tied up, has disregarded the spirit of its British Alliance. Against every diplomatic precedent of Great Britain, the Japanese have been gaining and gaining in Far Eastern power. The Islands of Java and Sumatra are owned by Holland. England never wanted Holland to fortify them. Under pressure Holland agreed not to do so if England would guarantee them. Alarmed at Japanese motives, Holland has asked Great Britain for a pledge of safeguarding her Far Eastern possessions in the event of Japanese aggression. England is unable to give it. Australia and New Zealand for the same reason are unofficially protesting against sending any more troops into the European conflict.

The time has come when the rise of Japan makes it impossible for the British Foreign Office to flirt with the Yellow Man at the expense of her Pacific Colonies and Canada. England

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knows it. Japan knows it. Germany knows it. Canada knows it. The Japanese newspapers to-day are filled with praise for the German army. After getting what she wanted at Tsing Tau and the German islands in the Pacific, Japan has not been guilty of hostile act against Germany. Instead she has been friendly. Inside diplomacy knows the way the wind is blowing. Inside diplomacy knows Mexico, Japan and Germany. It knows a Russian agreement with Japan and it can see Germany added to this agreement regarding the Far East when the war is over. Inside diplomacy fears the Oriental question from an American viewpoint—more than it does any submarine issues. When our submarine controversy with Germany was acute in April of this year, it was Baron Chinda who called at the State Department, and using Japanese immigration as the excuse, chided us. And the wind blows where? Inside diplomacy can see a Japanese-American war with every other nation "Hands-Off,"—completely counterbalanced in power.

In the appropriations of the Japanese "Diet" a large sum of money is voted for which no public accounting has to be given. In a recent issue of our "Infantry Journal" there was tabulated the military strength of the nations of the world. Opposite Japan was the word "Unknown": hence the secret appropriations of the Diet. The Japanese people are tax-ridden. They are bearing these taxes. *They are building a larger and larger navy. Why? Why are large navies built?* So that the people of a country may be taken to see the world and be taught to drink grape juice? *Why are the Japanese people bearing an excessive burden of armament taxation without protest?*

When the Japanese took the Marshall Islands from Germany in this war, they promised this government that their occupation would not be permanent. What business was it of ours? The map tells that a Japanese fleet based on the fortified Marshall Islands would be a direct menace to our line of communication between Hawaii and the Philippines. If the Japanese navy controls the Pacific Ocean, she can do exactly what she likes with our trade in the event of trouble—just as England has crippled Germany's trade. She has already caused our cotton interests to lose $20,000,000 in Manchuria. Admiral Dewey called the Philippines, "the key to the mastery of the Pacific." That key

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is menaced by the present Japanese occupation of the Marshall Islands. Also, after promising this government that they would not retain the Marshall Islands, the Japs began to fortify them. We know that we would quickly lose the Philippines. Our rallying point would be the Island of Guam. Guam we have possessed for seventeen years. There is not sufficient water at the dock of the naval station to land a steam launch there. As a base in the event of a naval action, it is highly important and completely useless. Since the Spanish-American war we have talked about fortifying it but we have taken it out in talk. You see there are no votes in Guam and money spent there doesn't do any good—politically. Of it, Mahan, the great strategist of the history of the American Navy said: "Guam securely held with a fleet superior to Japan's threatens every Japanese interest, from Dalny and Korea to Nagasaki and Yokohama." Yet our naval activity there is almost zero. Japanese cruisers have made surveys of its base because nobody has been there to stop them. It is the most vulnerable point of the great American triangle quadrilateral which runs northeast to Dutch Harbor on the Alaskan Islands, which drops down to Hawaii, then southwestward to Tutuila, and then northwestward, linking with Guam. It is our naval layout in the event of a war in the Pacific; but the Marshall Islands in Japanese hands break it up and even if our fleet did get through to Guam after the Philippines had fallen, it would arrive there in the greatest state of exhaustion of supplies—and Guam is almost devoid of supplies. And it is only three days from the Japanese coast. None of the four points of this American Pacific Quadrilateral has been efficiently guarded. During the present war, by capturing the German Ladrones, Japan has reached a point within forty-five miles of Guam. Their acquisition of the Marshall Islands has completely menaced the southern section of the quadrilateral. Few Americans know that such a quadrilateral exists, or its importance. The Japanese have known it and are very much awake to it and to show just why it is a good proposition for them to go to war against the United States, just what chances they would have of success, consider the testimony of our Admiral Winslow in command of our fleet on the Pacific coast. *He has not a first-class fighting ship of any type.* There is one armored cruiser on the

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coast and one in Asiatic waters, the old hulk *Brooklyn*—renovated relic of the Spanish-American war. Add to this five more armored cruisers, several protected cruisers, several not important vessels doing police work, some old destroyers and nineteen submarines—nine of which are worthless—and you have our naval strength in the Pacific. Suppose something should happen to Panama Canal, some explosion that would start the slides, some innocent merchant ship filled with explosives touched off in Gatun Lock. It would be two months before we ever could get from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. Japan has two new battle cruisers. Two more are building. The *Kongo* would wreck our only floating drydock in the Philippines. With their high speed they could rush at Guam to take on coal. They could raid on the entire coast, they could wreck the big drydock in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. This may sound exaggerated but the fact is that Japan has battle cruisers. Nothing can compete with a battle cruiser except a battle cruiser. Understand that a battle cruiser is a ship that has sacrificed the armor of a dreadnought for greater hitting power with its guns and that has sacrificed the weight of armor for terrific speed. Remember the lessons of the present war with the fast and heavily armored German cruisers *Gneisenau* and *Scharnhorst* which lay off out of range of Craddock's fleet and hammered it to pieces off South America. Remember that it was battle cruisers that won for the English the battle of the North Sea and that we have none and Japan will soon have four.

We are trying to balk the Japs' ambitions in the East. We've said they are not good enough to be in our country. We've imposed upon them—so their statesmen told them—their taxation inheritance from the Russian War. They love us. They receive our exalted visitors with open arms. We deign to visit their shores. Will the Honorable Americans be pleased to sully themselves by dining at their most ungracious tables? And when our backs are turned, their infernal Bushido spirit possesses them. And instead of their oily rubbing of hand over hand and submissive intaking of breath, they become as their heathen gods —creatures of wrath.

And we slumber on.

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A TRIAL OF SOCIALISM IN MEXICO

WHAT THE MEXICANS ARE FIGHTING FOR

M. C. ROLLAND

[*President Wilson in one of his public addresses declared that we must permit the Latin-American republics to work out their own redemption, as the United States have worked out their problems of freedom; but as revolution has succeeded revolution with kaleidoscopic swiftness, the American public has asked, "What does Mexico want? What are these Mexicans fighting for?" These questions, M. C. Rolland, a native Mexican, a dreamer and practical revolutionist, answers, and answers satisfactorily. There is something deeper in the revolution than brigandage. Raids and plots make noisy newspaper headlines, but the slow progress of a people up from slavery and poverty mark the real results. The writer of the article is a personal friend of General Carranza—the First Chief of Mexico to-day.*]

THE movement, which the people of every race and of every tongue are intensifying more and more in their search for a better social organization to ensure success and happiness—since all previous existing systems, including the religious and the commercial, have failed owing to the revulsion of mankind since the time of Plato against the exploitation of the masses—this movement has always been of paramount interest as the most powerful instrument for rendering practical the theories advanced for securing the welfare of the majority of mankind.

The efforts of the socialists in Europe, the brilliant showing they have made in New Zealand, and the agitation throughout South America towards shaking off the feudal yoke, are phenomena on which the gaze of the world is riveted to-day.

Among these efforts, the Mexican revolution stands out prominently: and, in spite of all the mantles with which Capitalism has endeavored to cloak it, the Mexican agitation shows more

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and more definite socialistic tendencies, which are of tremendous importance to every South American country, and no less vital to the North American people, who in their turn will have to solve the same problems that are now being worked out in Mexico, notwithstanding the superior material progress of the northern hemisphere.

HOW LONG WILL THE REVOLUTION LAST?

In Mexico, we have had inexorably to answer the call of civil war, which will last as long as there is a tendency on one side to monopolize the riches, to insist on privileges and concessions obtained through actual robbery of the rights of the people; and on the other side, the strivings of those who demand equality, justice and education, and claim the right to comfort and contentment. Civil strife will cease when the working classes, those who have no capital, secure their economic liberty by means of a political and social organization more in conformity with the pure moral principles that supposedly govern humanity.

Our civil war, so long and bloody and painful, has clearly placed in evidence these conflicting aims and in like manner has also clearly defined the necessity for changing our social order, for transforming our systems of government, and for creating small property holdings as the bases of the economical liberation of our people, who then and then only will cease from being a vagrant mass without any exact notion of citizenship and without any power of resistance as a people.

WHAT THE AIMS ARE

These are the high ideals that inspire the chiefs of the Mexican revolution, and if until now it has been necessary to scatter, or even to annihilate, those who represent the tendencies of the privileged classes: it is very important that everybody should know what are, in the concrete, the first steps towards national reorganization which are now being taken firmly and seriously, in the most profound conviction that the socialist state should be

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established, that the control of services of public utility should be without speculative aims, and that the creation of small interests by the reapportionment among all the natives of land holdings and of the natural resources of the country, will tend to establish the Mexican in a peaceful and happy home, and so ultimately make for the peace and happiness of the entire nation.

We do not want a nation prepared to kill, like Germany, or one organized mainly for material gain like the United States of America. We want a nation prepared for happiness toward which mankind has always striven.

WRONG SYSTEM OF TAXATION

One of the greatest ills of the Latin-American countries consists in the uneven methods of tax levying. The great lords of the land have always contrived to cheat the Exchequer by paying almost nothing for taxes, placing all the burden of public administration on the unfortunate shoulders of the small landed proprietors and on the humbler business concerns in general.

That is one of the most flagrant evils that the Mexican Revolution is rectifying. The First Chief with keen perception and appreciation of the situation, is working with firm hand and silence for the most minute investigation of all the properties in the Republic, reappraising them and imposing on each one the tax proportionate to its value. We find to-day that estates that were appraised under the old system at a value of twenty or thirty millions, have risen in valuation to five and even eight hundred millions. Pause and calculate how much better off the national treasury will be by the equal division of taxes! On this new basis, the small concerns will have a chance to breathe, and the old Spanish system will be eliminated whereby minor business houses and the less prosperous citizens used to be the ones most iniquitously overburdened with taxation, while the rich and opulent paid ridiculously small sums in comparison.

This policy of the Revolutionary leaders is the first step towards the doctrine of the single tax.

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USE OF PUBLIC FUNDS

There is also another political change that every effort is being made to bring into effect and which is of immense importance to our people, that is, the real genuine establishment of the Commonalty Government.

Up to the present, it has been the custom for the dictators to name a representative, entitled the "Jefe Politico"—the Chief of Politics and Politicians—the odious instrument of all tyrants, through whom the public funds were concentrated in the coffers of the various states and of the Federation, where they served as a distraction for the hands through which they had to pass. In this manner, although the Government explored even the remotest corner of the Republic, nothing was ever left that would serve as an incentive to develop private initiative, since the only party who could be enriched was the "cacique"—the political "boss." *Thus an atmosphere of discouragement and dejection prevailed amongst the citizens, who never bestirred themselves for the betterment of their districts, because they knew too well that the money given would never be applied to its ostensible object.*

The First Chief, who, in the course of his political campaign, has passed through and visited every place, and knows fully every necessity of our people, is obsessed with the idea to institute free independent municipal government in order to give the Mexicans, for the first time, the opportunity to augment the prosperity of their respective cities and towns, and thus encourage personal initiative to develop, with the guarantee that there will be no more governmental exploitation. We feel sure that very soon in Mexico will come the rejuvenation of the beautiful cities that to-day lie in the drowsiness and lethargy produced by the political tyranny and despotism to which they have been subjected in the past. And thus will be opened up a new horizon for the Mexican people, who for the first time will be able to live peacefully and contentedly in attractive cities equipped with all the modern hygienic improvements.

There are other places in Mexico like Tuxpam which, owing to its vast supply of petroleum, is one of the richest spots on

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earth, but where on account of the negligence of those who sold this source of national wealth, owing to the iniquitous centralization of the public funds, there is not to be found a water supply nor any kind of sanitary service, and not even a single cart for the removal of rubbish and refuse. In thousands of beautiful spots in Mexico, richly dowered by Nature, the people drag out a miserable existence in the midst of the most backward conditions of sanitation, positively revolting to the natural habits of the race, all due to the centralization of political and economic power.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT

The Revolutionary party is fully alive to the situation, and *the adoption of free municipal government,* which is already being put into practice in almost every part of the Republic, *will be the heroic remedy.* In a little while the desired transformation will have taken place, and if this were the only work of the First Chief it would suffice to make him great among us. Being on the fair road to the democratic socialistic state, we submit to the world the example of the organization of our federal telegraphic service. In spite of the Revolution, and with a thousand and other difficulties to contend against, this service, still controlled by the government, has been improved and trained to such a degree that to-day we have a magnificent system with very good service, at a price five or six times less than the telegraphic service of the United States, where many public utilities are exploited by companies which naturally seek to obtain enormous profits in order to partition dividends among the elect.

We prefer to lower the tariffs for the service of the public instead of making money on this popular necessity.

The wireless service has been improved to such an extent that we are able to make the assertion that the entire Republic is covered by stations that control the country in a far more efficient manner, proportionately, than the same service does in the United States. All this has been accomplished during the Revolution.

In order more concisely to present a case typical of what the

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Revolutionary Government has accomplished towards the establishment of the democratic Socialistic State, I am going to present in as few words as possible the experience of the Government in the State of Yucatan, where I spent six months recently studying matters with reference to the Revolution.

IMPROVEMENTS IN YUCATAN

In Yucatan, the veritable Revolution arrived with General Alvarado.

The State was organized in such a manner that its entire wealth rested in the hands of two or three hundred individuals, and the people, an indigenous mass of two hundred and fifty thousand souls, were herded together in abject slavery. On every plantation there was always a priest who exhorted the slaves to obey their master, the proprietor of the estate, and promised them the kingdom of heaven as their reward for such obedience.

All at once *the system of debts was abolished:* it was the means by which the peon, the working man, was held in subjection and fettered for life. This device produced a new freedom for *the working people.* Liberated from debt, they *could move about in search of better wages,* and consequently, wages have been considerably increased.

Next the priests, who used to be on the plantations, were each supplanted by a school. *It was absolutely necessary to suppress the clericals, because* it was impossible to make any progress in the work of reform while *they insisted on using their religious influence to oppose and retard the best social reforms* which the Revolutionary leaders had planned and wanted to institute.

The sale of alcoholic liquors was prohibited: the cock-fights and bull-fights were forbidden, and in their stead a new impulse was given to games and sports such as baseball. In the most out-of-the-way town of Yucatan to-day, there is as much interest and eagerness about baseball as that displayed among players and spectators in the United States.

There are about five hundred travelling libraries: public lectures are also given, besides which a department in charge of

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public instruction has been organized with a pedagogue of renown as Chief.

Regarding economics *it was necessary to maintain a very active campaign against the powerful American Trusts that were monopolizing the henequen industry which constitutes the wealth* of the State. With this aim in view, the trusts caused an investigation into the matter. A special investigation was made by the American Senate during the course of which the justice of the Government of Yucatan was made patent. Just as Frederick the Great forcibly organized the feudal lords to make the rural treasuries the economic basis of the German States, so did General Alvarado compel the planters, by bringing strong official pressure to bear upon them, to organize co-operatively and to unite for the defence of the State. The results are now in evidence. Every one has been convinced of the iniquitous monopoly which the trusts carried on: and now, eight or ten million dollars in gold which these gentlemen used to pocket pass into the purses of the henequen producers, with the result that the independence and stability of the national product are now assured.

In order to fulfil one of the highest ideals of the Revolution, that is, the economic freedom of the peon, General Alvarado obtained the approval of the First Chief to the decree relating to the distribution of lands, and then formed an agrarian commission to have it put into practice. This law enacts that lands within the State, or *communal lands,* which might have been taken or stolen, *will simply be confiscated and the rest will be expropriated according to their just value. These lands are being redistributed among those who want to work* them at the rate of 20 hectares of uncultivated land to each head of a family, and ten hectares if the land is already in process of cultivation with henequen. The law lays down certain indispensable requirements in order to make sure that production shall increase, since it is not the intention of the State to take away lands from certain persons and to pass them over to others who would leave them unproductive. He who cannot or will not work must leave the land to another who is willing and able to work. The solution of the agrarian problem is not merely a platonic scheme to

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the end that every one may have some land, but it is expressly stipulated that an increase in production must be shown. Consequently, this will tend to the prosperity of the people. Toward the accomplishment of this purpose the Government is using every possible means. *A Department of Agriculture has been organized, with a foreign expert at its head,* and with a plan of operation quite similar to that in vogue in the United States. There is an organization which takes care of the circulation of such propaganda as may tend to encourage the small cultivator in his efforts and to help him out of his difficulties.

An Agricultural School has been organized and established and experimental stations are also being started.

The great problem regarding the working classes has been attacked in Yucatan with ample appreciation of cause, a law has been decreed which creates special tribunals for *compulsory conciliation and arbitration.* The state has been divided into five labor districts and the workmen have organized into labor unions. The tribunals consist of representatives of the laborers and the capitalists, and if a friendly settlement of the matter in question cannot be arrived at in the Council of Conciliation, the Tribunal of Arbitration gives its judgment on the case within a fixed time, and from the latter judgment there is no appeal. The Council of Conciliation takes the matter into consideration and has power to impose, for the term of one month only, and on trial, an arrangement which shall have the force of an industrial agreement if none of the parties concerned enters protest within said period. The Tribunal of Arbitration has full power to study the books of the proprietors and to go to the bottom of the matter in question in order to judge whether it be really possible to satisfy the demands of the laborers.

Both the working classes and the capitalists are subject to fines if they do not comply with the terms of the industrial agreements. The purpose is to suppress strikes, which are injurious to all. Nevertheless the right to go on strike is recognized as the supreme measure to which industrial unions may have recourse. The law establishes measures regarding accidents and provides for the establishment of an insurance department to be controlled by the government in case private insurance agen-

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cies abuse this public necessity. Since this law has been put into force, the public worker has understood its justice and the authorities have not yet had to debate any difficulties between labor and capital, these seeming to adjust themselves automatically before the tribunals mentioned. Hence, *the condition of the working man is automatically being improved without any painful shocks.* Besides a reorganization of the Labor Department has taken place, and this now studies, in a general way, the conditions of the working people as well as the commercial prospects; and it also compiles statistics. This is one of the most valuable and conclusive of the reforms that are being effected in Yucatan and shows how, if efficient official power is energetic and well-guided, in a very short time the laborer gains materially both in an economic and social sense.

With the finances of the state firmly assured, and with the people living and moving along firmer and more stable social bases, General Alvarado has launched farther in his trial of the socialist state and will endeavor to control public utilities without speculative aims so as to apportion among the people the essentials for increasing their prosperity.

A company has been organized with a million dollars to construct a railroad that will unite the state of Yucatan with the Isthmus of Tehauntepec, crossing the states of Campeche, Tabasco and Chiapas. These regions are inconceivably rich. They abound in cattle and all kinds of fruits and hardwoods. Practically speaking, these regions have been unexplored owing to lack of adequate means of communication.

Yucatan will be a safe and reliable market for all of these products and there will be no need of importing from abroad any foodstuffs whatever, not even corn. At the same time, this railroad will unite the peninsula with the capital of the Republic which, owing to motives of national importance, is absolutely necessary. The other works which the company will undertake are: the introduction of petroleum into the state: construction of the Port of Progreso, and the installation of a line of steamboats. Petroleum will cheapen manufacturing and will liberate for other industries fifteen thousand men actually employed in timber-felling to such an extent that the country is being ruined

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through deforestation and the climate is being injuriously affected. These men will then be so many more hands gained for more productive employment, with the result that public prosperity will be greatly increased. Such laborers would be far more valuable than immigrants, since they are already acclimated. Besides, with the aid of cheap petroleum more extensive immigration will become possible and thus the day will not be far distant when orchards full of aromatic fruits and vegetables, with prosperous, flourishing ranches, will be more abundant. All these works are of immense social importance, since they tend to enable the people to gain their livelihood with smaller living expenses and will also increase the productive capacity of the State. Thus benefits will be apportioned among all in conformity with the Agrarian Law and that of Labor, and an era of the greatest prosperity and happiness must ensue. The company is controlled by the government which subscribes 5% of the capital, and the rest is subscribed by private individuals. Its purpose, we repeat, is not a business investment; it is to open up new horizons to private initiative and above all to control those services of public utility for the benefit of all and not of a few concessionaires as was formerly the custom.

In Yucatan it has been possible to advance more rapidly than elsewhere in Mexico in the work of reconstruction, thanks to the characteristic energy and spirit of General Alvarado and also to the circumstances that there they have had more peace and less fighting. But in other parts of the country also experiments have been made in the line of the general plan traced out by the First Chief and consistent with the enthusiasm of the individuals actually in charge. Naturally, it is not in all parts of the country that things are being well done, and we have to acknowledge that the true revolutionary spirit does not reign in the hearts of all the men who have been raised to eminence by the Revolution. Nevertheless it can be easily understood that all of the men who find themselves to-day invested with power and who have risen without any previous experience whatever and the majority of whom indeed are ignorant of what national reconstruction signifies, are not entirely blameable. In every case the man of intellect will be held accountable.

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We must fain acknowledge that there are abuses and thefts of property belonging to the public, and we also admit that there are not a few whose only aim is to acquire great wealth rapidly, but this is natural and the history of this world proves that the same thing inevitably occurs. Revolutions do not transform men into angels. But *the fact remains that the socialistic ideal is incarnated in a directing majority and will not turn aside from carrying out its aims just because there happen to be some who are fools and others who are knaves.*

This is not mere phrase-making. The keen activity exists in Mexico for the solution of the agrarian problem; and the growth of the schools is such that to-day in some parts of the country the teacher gains more than the minister and all this will eventually produce unfailing results. Equable taxation and free municipalities will infallibly yield hopeful results in a very short time.

The students of sociology of the entire world ponder over these facts coldly and dispassionately, and realize that, apart from all false interests and passions, the Mexican problem points to one section more of mankind that has destroyed the feudal yoke,—by means of bloodshed it is true, but this is a detail,—and is emerging into the fulness of the social and economic organization of a free and contented commonwealth.

Every honest man, every man who does not have two moral codes, one private and the other public: every man who is opposed to theft in private life must also be opposed to any strong nation that would try to plunder a weaker one, and must recognize the supreme justice of the efforts which these brave leaders are making to form a pathway for the people of their nation that will lead them to peace and contentment. Therefore, no one can approve of the conduct of the majority of those Americans who, in our country, plead for intervention in order to forward their individual schemes and interests. I do not make accusations lightly, since it is a well-known fact that the Americans resident in Mexico are in general Republicans with the desire for intervention.

It is not so very long since the entire American population in Tampico made public confession that they had aided the Re-

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publicans with money, and urgently requested assurance and protection for the immense wealth in petroleum that they had obtained there from the former Mexican Government for nothing, and this when they were not in the slightest danger.

Recently I was in Mexico City and went frequently to the American Club. There I was fully convinced how charged the atmosphere was with the desire for intervention. The United States of America will gain nothing whatever by intervention in Mexico, but will paralyze through perverted conceptions of humanity the socialistic regeneration that is progressing there. On the contrary, it will certainly have great advantages to gain when to the south there exists a civilized nation with perfect understanding and appreciation of the fellowship of nations.

WHAT THE SEXTON SAID

VACHEL LINDSAY

YOUR dust will be upon the wind
Within some certain years
Though you be sealed in lead today
Amid the country's tears.

"When this idyllic churchyard
Becomes the heart of town,
The place to build garage or inn,
They'll throw your tombstone down.

"Your name so dim, so long outworn,
Your bones so near to earth,
Your sturdy kindred dead and gone,
How should men know your worth?

"So read upon the runic moon
Man's epitaph, deep-writ.
It says, *'the world is one great grave.'*
For names it cares no whit.

"It tells the folk to live in peace,
And still, in peace, to die.
At least, so speaks the moon to me,
The tombstone of the sky."

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OUR THREATENING WAR PROBLEMS

CAPTAIN H. O. STICKNEY, U. S. NAVY

CAPTAIN STICKNEY OF THE NORFOLK NAVY YARD CONTENDS:

THAT AMERICANS ARE LULLED TO SLEEP IN DANGER.

THAT OUR SCHOOL HISTORIES HAVE LIED ABOUT THE PAST.

THAT OUR MONROE DOCTRINE IS A BLUFF WHICH THE WORLD WILL CHALLENGE.

THAT OUR MILITARY FORCES HAVE BEEN AND ARE YET INEFFICIENT.

THAT OUR RIGHTS WILL BE RESPECTED ONLY AS LONG AS WE CAN DEFEND THEM.

A NATION'S desire for war or peace is the composite desires of the individuals who compose it. Its willingness to submit to the political, economic or military domination of an alien race, is only the composite willingness of its citizens to submit to such domination. The viewpoint of the lawyer differs from that of the farmer; that of the farmer is different from that of the banker; that of the soldier is not that of the tradesman. Each may be admirable in its special sphere. But the statesman should be able to detach himself from these special viewpoints and gain a clear idea of the trend of events. He must be a student of the world history, and foresee the effect of a certain line of policy.

The duty of the statesman is to desire the material, mental, political and moral uplift of his country. If this is not conceded, then one might believe that peace, bought at the price of political supremacy lost, would be a noble aim. Communities might be more prosperous under the rule of a foreign invader than under that of their own race. Can there be any doubt that the fifteen millions of Mexicans, starving and despoiled by a state of anarchy, would be more prosperous under

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the rule of the United States than under Mexican rule? But can this justify the belief that it is the statesman's right to consider such a political alienation as other than a catastrophe against which all his efforts should be exerted?

A subject race does not thrive under foreign domination; it retrogrades; its preservation and progress depend upon self-government. In our Republic, assimilation of closely allied races goes steadily on; the aliens of today become the Americans of tomorrow. Where two race currents meet they unite and quickly lose their racial differences; here there is no conflict. But when these same streams possess antagonistic differences which do not disappear readily, the races will not assimilate, and they can not live in intimate contact without friction. The result is domination of one race by the other, with the deterioration of the weaker race.

Who among us can conceive of a leader of any people, except such subject races as have been for generations governed by aliens, calmly and without compulsion admitting it to be best for his people to renounce their political autonomy and bow to the domination of a foreign race? The spirit of manhood, even in the humblest of human beings, cries out in emphatic denial of such a possibility.

The contest between ethics and political economy at once suggests itself. *Shall no serious effort be made to protect our nationals in their persons and property when once they enter foreign territory?* Shall no effort be made to assure ourselves an equal share in the markets of the world? If the answer is "no," then it is folly to arm. There will be no need for armaments. *If the policy of a government ought to be when buffeted to turn the other cheek, then it is a useless expenditure of money to provide a navy or an army.* But who seriously advocates such spineless policies? Whether non-resistance is felt to be God-like or not, history teaches us that *in the end the people will revolt when their vital interests are threatened.* No government can long stand in the way of the welfare of its people. Whether right or wrong ethically, let the economic life of an intelligent and virile people be attacked and they will resist. They obey the natural impulse of self-defence.

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Whatever the future may hold in store for mankind, it is certain that in this age nations believe it is a virtue, born of necessity, to increase their own material welfare in all directions, even at the expense of other nations. Admittedly the rules of individual ethics do not apply, though it is claimed they should.

The fact that there are notable exceptions to the rule, such as the unselfish action of America in Cuba, cannot alter that rule. The history of our Republic is filled with examples of life and money squandered in the defence of policies adopted by the government without adequate force to sustain them. *From the American Revolution until the present day our wars have been commenced and almost wholly fought with armed mobs.* It is impossible to assume that this is due solely to indifference; it is largely attributable to ignorance of the fundamental principles of military efficiency, and a blind confidence in the superiority of our natural military ability, and the military strength of the country.

Inexcusable as this ignorance is, it cannot be said that the individuals bearing the responsibilities of those wars were at fault. It is folly to expect our Presidents or our Cabinet Secretaries to be military experts. The fault has always rested with the vicious system that victimized the country, the officials, and the unfortunate thousands whose lives were sacrificed.

Neither Lincoln, nor his secretary of war, nor the generals who were instrumental in defeat after defeat in our Civil War, could be blamed for being ignorant of military strategy. *The blame lay with the unnamed many*—some of whom were no better than political parasites—*who refused in the halls of Congress to give the country a military organization which would make civilian muddling of military strategy impossible, who refused to listen to the counsels of experts who knew.* The evils of authority without responsibility are a curse; nowhere can the consequences be more disastrous than in the military and naval services.

How many of our national legislators to-day are ignorant of the truth as to the inefficiency of our military forces in the War of 1812?

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How many know the disgraceful facts of the so-called battle of Bladensburg and the burning of Washington by the British?

Why is it that these shameful failures of our arms are not held up now as a warning?

How many know that American militia stood on American soil and watched their comrades across the river in Canada, at Queenstown Heights, being defeated by an inferior British force, and refused to cross to the aid of their brothers in arms because they were not regulars and claimed they were not legally bound to fight on foreign territory?

How many know that this refusal to obey on the part of untrained troops has been a *common occurrence* in our military history?

How many realize that until the Civil War was nearly three years old the movement of troops was continually interfered with by civilian officials in Washington; that even the Secretary of the Treasury had a hand in it?

How many know that the services of the only trained military officers in the country, the officers of the Regular Army, were largely thrown aside? That instead of those officers being utilized in training and leading the volunteers, they were allowed to waste their time and experience in their own regiments, and that each of these same regiments was allowed to dwindle in numbers until it became a mere handful, simply because the policy was to add new organizations to the army when more men were needed instead of keeping filled those regiments already in service?

It is a part of our smug conceit and self-sufficiency that the younger generations of America are allowed to grow up in ignorance of the truth of our short-comings. Our school histories conceal these unpleasant facts, and teach us that America won her independence in the Revolution by force of arms, and sustained it in the same valiant manner in the War of 1812; that we are invincible; nothing could be farther from the truth. We achieved our independence with the aid of France because England had more valuable interests elsewhere to defend. Though defeated on land in the War of 1812, in nearly every engagement, we retained our independence because England again had

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more vital interests to defend in Europe. The Atlantic was then our safeguard; not so to-day.

The statesman who does not trouble himself to search the records and ascertain the truth, and who does not use every effort to place the country in a state of preparation against any possible enemy, is unworthy the name.

It is not only in the field that battles are won and lost; often victory is rendered impossible by the lack of preparation, by the meddling of non-military officials, and, in our own history, times without number, by the inexperience of officers and men (more especially the former) who were forced into action by a vicious system of unpreparedness. The almost universal defeat of our military forces in the War of 1812 can be directly charged to the complete disbanding of those forces after the Revolution. The natural consequence of this criminal neglect of the military arm was a nation ignorant of the art of self-defence.

The Russo-Japanese War was won in Tokio before a shot was fired. Japan had been robbed, by European interference, of the fruits of her victory over China. She at once commenced preparations to fight Russia, whose statesmen were too short-sighted to read the signs of the times until too late. When, at last, they awakened to the impending disaster they endeavored to reinforce their Far Eastern Fleet, and their military forces in Manchuria. Japan immediately struck, and the war was won. As she struck then she will strike again—not when her opponent is ready, but when *she* is ready. And *woe* to the country whose statesmen are too blind to see the impending danger!

It is impossible to know the exact force required to secure victory under all circumstances; this must be plain to anyone, but it cannot be urged as an excuse for any statesman to shirk his responsibility in the solution. He has no right to say that because military experts are not of one opinion the statesmen must make no preparations for defence until the experts shall all agree. When doctors disagree do we wait for them to argue their differences while the patient dies, or do we choose that one who seems the best, and direct him to proceed with the treatment?

Duty demands that the statesman accept the world as it is

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with its imperfections, not as he thinks it should be; that he should study the needs and desires of his country, placing these in contrast with the needs and desires of every other nation, with a view to determining to what extent they will conflict. From our earliest national history we have believed that our destiny would best be worked out by avoiding alliances, especially European alliances, lest they should draw us into quarrels in which we naturally had no concern. This line of conduct seems likely never to lead to war, hence its effect on military preparations might be regarded as negative. But it is well to remember that its logical tendency will deprive us of allies in any war into which we may be forced.

The Monroe Doctrine, elastic and often misinterpreted, originally a measure of self-protection, aimed against the Holy Alliance, was, *and is* even more so to-day, *one of the most gigantic bluffs ever sustained in the face of the whole world.* It never has had any standing in international law. We all know it served notice on European nations that we stood ready to bid defiance to them in any attempt to extend their systems to any part of this continent. At the close of the Civil War we were in possession of such military strength, ashore and afloat, as to be able to sustain this policy. Without hesitation we prepared to drive France out of Mexico. The show of intentions to uphold the Monroe Doctrine on that occasion was enough. The fighting strength of the nation, colossal then in comparison to that of our probable enemies, determined the question without a shot.

Why did England, France, and Spain go into Mexico, and openly challenge the Monroe Doctrine? Is it not plain that it was because America was in the midst of a civil conflict which threatened to disrupt the nation itself? It was force, and force alone, which sustained our position as clearly as if campaigns had been fought. May we assume that this policy will not again be challenged, whenever the game is considered worth the candle? If we admit that its challenge is possible, does it not become the imperative duty of the statesman to determine upon one of two courses: either frankly to abandon the Doctrine, or place the country in a position of preparedness to make its challenge practically impossible? Is it not a vicious system that

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permits the country to remain as it has remained for years, unable successfully to sustain it?

Without regard to the expediency of the Monroe Doctrine, does anyone doubt that if it were seriously threatened this country would rise and insist that the government sustain it? The political party in power refusing to sustain it would go out of existence. How may it be sustained? This is the statesman's problem; and it remains unsolved until he has provided a sufficient military force successfully to cope with our probable enemy, and a military system of handling these forces that will insure freedom from civilian meddling in matters affecting the military efficiency of the fleet and the army. Then, and not until then, may the country expect its policies to prevail.

To-day the Monroe Doctrine is as dear to the hearts of the American people as any principle ever entertained by them. Whether it is a vital policy or not is immaterial. There it stands, a challenge to the strongest nations on earth! What will happen when the challenge is accepted? Let our statesmen study that question until they feel competent to answer it. Have they a right calmly to watch and wait, trusting blindly in Providence that the blow will not fall? Common sense denies them this right.

Another principle that has come to be recognized as of vast importance to our wage earners is that of Asiatic Exclusion. How long may we expect that Japan will consent—we know already she is not content—to remain outside the family of nations having full rights of naturalization in America? Her desire to extend her influence over China may keep her occupied for a time, but the statesman who believes that we shall not, one day, be obliged to accord to Japan the same rights as are granted to the most favored nations, or to fight, is trusting to luck rather than the teachings of history. The proximity to her shores of our far eastern possessions obliges us to consider what shall be our line of conduct. Japan's crowded and rapidly multiplying population must have room to expand; her economic interests demand it; the question is not, will conflict come, but rather *when* will it come? The Philippines are a source of military weakness to us. Shall we give them up as a matter of

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policy? If so, to whom and in what way? It does not appear to suit the ideals of either of the political parties in America to allow these people to become the subjects of any other nation. It can hardly be believed that public opinion in America would tolerate this. What then? Independence? What well-informed man can doubt that independence, complete and without qualification, would quickly see that country plunged into revolution after revolution, with almost certain intervention and subjugation by other foreign nations? We do not believe the American public is yet ready to slink out of the responsibility assumed when we took the Philippines from Spain seventeen years ago. The only other alternative is qualified independence, guaranteed in some manner. In this event shall we fulfil our obligations as the sole guarantor, or perhaps as one of the several or not?

There is yet another principle to be considered: The Open Door in the Far East and the Integrity of China. If much thought has already been given to the necessity for greater markets in which to sell the products of America, what will be the importance attached to this question fifty years hence? The statesman is not at liberty to provide simply for the present; his policies must look far into the future; he must consider the welfare of unborn generations. When he ceases to do this and works only for the present, he becomes a mere time-server.

Knowing the traditional policy of America in the Far East, can any modern American statesman fail to realize the necessity for supporting this policy with at least the appearance of force? Is the policy desirable? Then is it wise to advertise by non-preparedness the fact that we will not insist upon our rights?

We are committed to maintain the neutrality of the Panama Canal. Should this affect our state of preparedness for war? Who can suppose, with the Great European War before us, that the neutrality of this new water route will be respected in war one day longer than the necessities of one of the belligerents, plus the unreadiness of America to sustain neutrality, shall appeal to her as the easiest way to victory? If it is violated, what shall be the rôle of America? Shall we follow the example of Belgium, or, being even less prepared than that unhappy country was in August, 1914, shall we supinely submit to a violation of

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our neutrality, forsaking the solemn obligations assumed by us when we undertook to build the Canal?

It has been said that the Monroe Doctrine is no stronger than the American Navy can make it. The Panama Canal is likewise secure to America only so long as the American Navy is able to protect it.

Another important principle, inherent in our Constitution, and which must hamper us in our foreign relations, is the theory of states' rights, which places in the hands of the people of any state the power to violate treaties made with foreign powers, while withholding from the federal government the power to remove the cause of friction.

How can we be sure that at any time our Pacific Coast states will not enact legislation still more injurious to the Asiatic races resident there? Then, in our impotence to remove the cause, the Coast states being supported by the labor element throughout the country, we shall find ourselves plunged into a conflict. Our statesmen who have been pleased to see in Japan's economical difficulties an effectual bar to war with that country should not neglect the present movement whereby this bar will very soon be removed. Japan, in becoming the dominating power over China, at one master stroke, has taken possession of untold wealth and resources. How long before we shall see these resources converted into military strength and preparedness?

It is no simple matter to demonstrate that it is wrong for a nation to encroach upon the commercial rights of another. Once we attempt this, we are confronted by the necessity for a standard of right and wrong as applied to nations. The attempt to apply any code of ethics to any particular act of a nation must resolve itself into attempting to determine what has been the custom between nations in similar circumstances. Self-defence is a recognized right of man; likewise of nations. But shall it be limited to defence solely against armed aggression? A race might be as effectually injured by a slow process of economic starvation as by the quicker methods of warfare. And it may be that the process of starvation is not so readily discernible as to awaken public opinion, yet it is there. What rights has a nation in such a case?

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Natural economic forces and racial antipathies, acting and reacting between the different nations, tend to bring on conflicts; the world has not yet learned how to prevent these conflicting interests and passions developing into open war. This fact cannot be altered by those who are advocating disarmament, all-inclusive arbitration treaties, etc. More than a hundred years ago in Europe learned men were saying that governments had reached such a stage of permanence, right-dealing and stability, that war between the more civilized states was unthinkable and might be considered a thing of the past!

The ultra-pacificists of to-day have discovered no new virtues, no sure plan on which to build world peace. Even the proposed world league with an international force to compel obedience to the mandates of the international court, even if it obtains a hearing among the nations, must contend against odds vastly greater than the forces which threatened to permanently rend asunder our republic in the Civil War.

In a new and sparsely settled country like ours, internal policies are generally of paramount importance. Foreign affairs concern the people little. As the country develops and begins to produce more than it consumes, the need of markets is felt, commercial relations with the outside world multiply, and foreign policies become of importance to the people. In spite of this, in spite of the vast wealth and opportunities in America, we have not been free from foreign wars. Shall we be more so in the future, as the necessity for our expansion increases? In the United States this movement, which is a form of expansion, has already gathered headway, and in the years to come must make more necessary than heretofore a well-considered policy governing the extent to which our merchants shall be protected abroad in their commercial and personal rights.

Abstention from war is not the first consideration for a people; rather it should be the welfare and progress of the nation in so far as consistent with righteousness. Peace based on righteousness is a virtuous aim; peace regardless of the price may be base and ignoble.

I believe war is the result of greed, ambition and racial antipathies coupled with the legitimate needs and desires of races

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and peoples; as the people and their needs increase they will inevitably clash until these causes have been eradicated. That they will some day be eradicated we may logically hope; but I believe that to abolish war by any means that would cause deterioration in manhood or honor, by cowardly policies, would be worse than to abolish prisons and the death penalty by permitting crime to flourish unchecked. Christianity may rightly accomplish it; nothing else *can* do so.

I cannot avoid the belief that preparation for war is a necessity. If it is true that a country may at some time be tempted to make war on another, if prepared, under circumstances where she would not if unprepared, we must accept the responsibility of this, in the hope that our own country will be among the leaders in national righteousness and justice, and the last to use our strength in an evil cause. Even if we are not confident that this will always be true, we, at least, have the right to obey the natural instinct of self-preservation and provide for self-defence against the evil aggressions of others. If a statesman is ready individually to sacrifice his own welfare and life, rather than strike a blow in his own defence, he has not the moral right to sacrifice the welfare of his countrymen; when they are in his keeping he must fulfil his duty as their servant and leader. *What virtue can there be in abstaining from war solely for the fear of being defeated?* It might certainly be *expedient* to do so, but never right. Yet this is the position in which our advocates of disarmament would place us! And if we cannot trust ourselves armed to follow a righteous course of conduct, why trust our rivals armed and ourselves at their mercy?

There has never been more false and silly reasoning than that used by those why cry that preparedness causes war. That the *relative* state of preparedness and military strength of possible foes should have a powerful effect is natural; but that multiplying the strength of the armaments and resources of the same rivals by two or by twenty tends to bring on war, is the merest nonsense unless in some special case where a conflict is inevitable sooner or later. Reducing armaments does not reduce the military resources of any country nor its economic strength. Do not confound military resources with military strength and

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preparedness. With Germany and France totally unarmed it would be quite as easy to start a conflict as with both armed to the teeth. A great agricultural country with few factories as opposed to a much smaller nation of manufacturers, both totally unarmed, would be at great disadvantage if war broke out. The nation with factories could quickly provide war material and crush the farmers and their unarmed mob.

As time goes on the policies upheld by America tend more and more to conflict with the desires of foreign nations. The Monroe Doctrine has meant comparatively little to Europeans heretofore. With England controlling the sea and in possession of more colonies than she will need economically for generations to come, she could have no incentive to challenge it; what other nation could do so? The moment some other nation succeeds in the control of the seas, should this reversal occur, there will be every reason for her to attempt to obtain a foothold in the neighborhood of the Panama Canal. Shall we then abandon the Monroe Doctrine?

Unpleasant as the thought is, we are obliged to believe that America is far from being awakened to the dangers of her position. She has never met real disasters. We pride ourselves upon never having been defeated, intensely ignorant of the reasons for our victories, self-satisfied and self-complacent.

Shall we remain unprepared and suffer defeat, or shall we arm?

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WITH THE ZIONISTS IN GALLIPOLI

LIEUT.-COL. J. H. PATTERSON

I

[*Colonel Patterson is a distinguished soldier, a friend of Theodore Roosevelt, and the author of the thrilling "Man Eaters of the Tsavo" and "In the Grip of the Nyika." He has served the British Empire almost all his life—in India, South Africa, Egypt and even the Northwest Mounted Police.*]

FROM the days of my youth I have always been a keen student of the Jewish people, their history, laws and customs. It was strange, therefore, that I, so imbued with Jewish traditions, should have been drawn to the land where the Pharaohs had kept the Children of Israel in bondage for over four hundred years; and it was still more strange that I should have arrived in Egypt just at the psychological moment when General Sir John Maxwell, the Commander-in-Chief, should have been looking out for a suitable officer to raise and command a Jewish unit.

Now, such a thing as a Jewish unit had been unknown in the annals of the world for some two thousand years, since the days of the Maccabees, those heroic Sons of Israel who fought so valiantly, and for a time so successfully, to wrest Jerusalem from the grasp of the Roman legions.

It had happened that there had come down to Egypt out of Palestine many hundreds of people who had fled from thence to escape the wrath of the Turks. These people were of Russian nationality but of Jewish faith, and many of them strongly desired to band themselves together into a fighting host and place their lives at the disposal of England, whom the Jews have recognized as their friend and protector from time immemorial. Indeed, by many it is held that the British people are none other than some of the lost tribes; moreover, we have taken so much of Jewish national life for our own, mainly owing

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to our strong Biblical leanings, that the Jews can never feel while with us that they are among entire strangers.

Now these people having made known their wishes to the Commander-in-Chief, he, in a happy moment of inspiration, saw how much it would benefit England, morally and materially, to have bound up with our fortunes a Jewish fighting unit.

On the 19th March, 1915, I was appointed to my unique command, and on the same day I left Cairo for Alexandria, where all the refugees from Palestine were gathered together as the guests of the British Government.

On the 23d March, 1915, the young Jewish volunteers were paraded for the purpose of being "sworn in" at the refugee camp at Gibbari.

It was a most imposing ceremony; the Grand Rabbi, who officiated, stood in a commanding position overlooking the long rows of serious and intelligent-looking lads. He explained to them the meaning of an oath, and the importance of keeping it, and impressed upon them that the honor of Israel rested in their hands. He then asked them to repeat after him, word for word, the oath of military obedience to myself and such officers as should be appointed over them, and with great solemnity, and in perfect unison, the men, with uplifted hands, repeated the formula.

The Grand Rabbi then delivered a stirring address to the new soldiers in which he compared them to their forefathers who had been led out of Egypt by Moses, and at the end he turned to me and presented me to them as their modern leader.

This memorable and historic scene aroused the greatest enthusiasm among the throng of Jewish sympathizers who had come to witness this interesting ceremony.

The work of training went on from dawn to dark, as officers and men had to be taught everything from the ground-floor up. Not a moment could be wasted. Drilling and parades were the order of the day; horses and mules had to be exercised, fed and watered three times a day; the men had to be taught how to saddle and unsaddle them, load and unload packs; they had also to be instructed in the use of the rifle and bayonet. Camp kitchens had to be constructed. Horse and mule lines had to be

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swept and garnished, tents cleaned out, etc., and a thousand and one things crammed into the day's work.

On April 20th we arrived at Lemnos and anchored just inside the entrance of Mudros harbor in a blinding wind and rain storm. It will be remembered that when the gods quarrelled, Jove hurled Vulcan out of Olympus on to Lemnos, where he established a forge underground. The morning following our arrival, one of the transports to windward of us began to drag her anchor, so our captain weighed immediately, fearing a collision, and we sailed right through the fleet to the opposite end of the immense land-locked harbor. Never in all my life had I seen such a mighty armada of battleships, cruisers, destroyers, transports, etc. The *Queen Elizabeth* was there, looking for all the world like a floating fortress. There were some quaint French battleships, while the Russian cruiser *Askold* caused universal attention, owing to her five slim funnels. With the soldier's customary knack of giving appropriate names, the *Askold* was known throughout the fleet as "the packet of Woodbines." Our Zionists, as we sailed by, astonished her crew by bandying words with them in Russian.

II

As I shall have to mention several places in Gallipoli, it may be well before proceeding further to give the reader some idea of the geography of the place.

Gallipoli is a narrow, hilly peninsula, varying from three to twelve miles wide, running southwestward into the Ægean Sea, with the Dardanelles, from one to four miles wide, separating it from the Asiatic coast, throughout its length of some forty miles.

The dominating feature is the hill of Achi Baba, some 700 feet high, which, with its shoulders sloping down on the one side to the Ægean, and on the other to the Dardanelles, shuts out all further view of the Peninsula to the northward. There are only two villages in this area, Sedd-el-Bahr at the entrance to the Dardanelles, and Krithia, with its quaint windmills, to the southwest of Achi Baba, somewhat picturesquely situated on the slope of a spur, some five miles northwest of Sedd-el-Bahr—Achi

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Baba itself being between six and seven miles from Cape Helles which is the most southerly point of the Peninsula.

A line through Achi Baba from the Ægean to the Dardanelles would be a little over five miles, while the width at Helles is only about one and a half miles.

A fairly good representation of this tract of country will be obtained by holding the right-hand palm upward and slightly hollowed, the thumb pressed a little over the forefinger. Imagine the Dardanelles running along by the little finger up the arm, and the Ægean Sea on the thumb side. Morto Bay, an inlet of the Dardanelles, would then be at about the tip of a short little finger; Sedd-el-Bahr Castle at the tip of the third finger; V Beach between the third finger and the middle finger; Cape Helles the tip of the middle finger; W Beach between the middle finger and the forefinger; X Beach at the base of the nail of the forefinger; Gully Beach between the tip of the thumb and the forefinger; Gully Ravine running up between the thumb and forefinger towards Krithia village which is situated half-way up to the thumb socket; Y Beach at the first joint of the thumb; and Achi Baba in the centre of the heel of the hand where it joins the wrist.

Anzac, where the Australians and New Zealanders landed, would be some distance above the wrist on the thumb side of the forearm; and the Narrows of the Dardanelles would be on the inner or little finger side of the forearm opposite Anzac.

Imagine the sea itself lapping the lower part of the hand on a level with the finger nails, and then the cliffs will be represented by the rise from the finger-nails to the balls of the fingers.

III

As we plowed along the calm sea, to the slow beat of the engines, each hour seemed a century, but at last we were able to distinguish the misty outline of the Asiatic shore and, a little later on, we saw, coming to meet us like an outstretched arm and hand, a land fringed and half-hidden by the fire and smoke which enveloped it as if some great magician had summoned the powers of darkness to aid in its defence.

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Soon, battleships, cruisers, and destroyers began to outline themselves, and every few minutes we could see them enveloped in a sheet of flame and smoke, as they poured their broadsides into the Turkish positions. The roar of the *Queen Elizabeth's* heavy guns dwarfed all other sounds, as this leviathan launched her huge projectiles—surely mightier thunderbolts than Jove ever hurled—against the foe. Every now and again one of her shells would strike and burst on the very crest of Achi Baba, which then, as it belched forth flame, smoke and great chunks of the hill itself, vividly recalled to my mind Vesuvius in a rage.

The whole scene was a sight for the gods, and those of us mortals who witnessed it, and survived the day, have forever stamped on our minds the most wonderful spectacle that the world has ever seen. Half the nations of the earth were gathered there in a titanic struggle. England, with her children from Australia and New Zealand, and fellow subjects from India; sons of France, with their fellow citizens from Algeria and Senegal; Russian sailors and Russian soldiers; Turks and Germans—all fighting within our vision, some in Europe and some in Asia. Nor did the wonders end here for, circling the heavens like soaring eagles, were French and British battle-planes, while, under the sea, lurked the deadly submarine.

Up the Dardanelles, as far as the Narrows, we could see our ships of war, principally destroyers, blazing away merrily and indiscriminately at the guns both on the European and Asiatic shores. The sea was as calm as a mill-pond round Cape Helles—the most southerly point of the Peninsula; the only ripple to be seen was that made by the strong current shot out through the Straits. All round the men-of-war Turkish shells were dropping, sending up veritable waterspouts as they struck the sea, for, luckily, very few of them hit the ships. It was altogether the most imposing and awe-inspiring sight that I have ever seen or am likely to see again.

As we approached near to our landing-place, we could see through the haze, smoke, and dust, the gleam of bayonets, as men swayed and moved hither and thither in the course of the fight, while the roar of cannon, and the rattle of the machine-guns and rifles, were absolutely deafening. We could well im-

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agine what a veritable hell our brave fellows who were attacking this formidable position must be facing, for, in addition to rifle and machine-gun fire from the surrounding cliffs, they were also at times under a deadly cannonade from the Turkish batteries established on the Asiatic shore.

The warships were slowly moving up and down the coast blazing away fiercely at the Turkish strongholds, battering such of them as were left into unrecognizable ruins.

We in the transports lay off the shore in four parallel lines, each successive line going forward methodically and disembarking the units on board as the ground was made good by the landing parties.

We watched the fight from our position in the line for the whole of that day, and never was excitement so intense and long-sustained as during those hours; nor was it lessened when night fell upon us, for the roll of battle still continued—made all the grander by the vivid flashes from the guns which, every few moments, shot forth great spurts of flame, brilliantly illuminating the inky darkness. Sedd-el-Bahr Castle and the village nestling behind it were fiercely ablaze and cast a ruddy glare on the sky.

The next day, from a position much closer in-shore, we watched again the terrible struggle of the landing-parties to obtain a grip on the coast. We were one and all feverish with anxiety to land and do something—no matter how little—to help the gallant fellows who were striving so heroically to drive the Turk from the strong positions which he had carefully fortified and strengthened in every possible way.

A most bloody battle was taking place, staged in a perfect natural amphitheatre, but never had Imperial Rome, even in the days of Nero himself, gazed upon such a corpse-strewn, blood-drenched arena.

This arena was formed partly by the sea, which has here taken a semi-circular bite out of the rocky coast, and partly by a narrow strip of beach which extended back for about a dozen yards to a low rampart formed of sand, some three or four feet high, which ran round the bay. Behind this rampart the ground rose steeply upwards, in tier after tier of grassy slopes, to a

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height of about 100 feet, where it was crowned by some ruined Turkish barracks. On the right, this natural theatre was flanked by the old castle of Sedd-el-Bahr, whose battlements and towers were even then crumbling down from the effects of the recent bombardment by the Fleet. To the left of the arena, high cliffs rose sheer from the sea, crowned by a modern redoubt. Barbed wire zig-zagged and criss-crossed through arena and amphitheatre—and such barbed wire! It was twice as thick, strong, and formidable as any I had ever seen.

The cliffs and galleries were trenched and full of riflemen, as were also the barracks, the ruined fort, and Sedd-el-Bahr Castle. Machine-guns and pom-poms were everywhere, all ready to pour a withering fire on any one approaching or attempting to land on the beach.

The little cove was peaceable enough on the morning of the 25th, when the Transport *River Clyde* steamed in. It was part of the scheme to run her ashore at this beach and, as it was known that the venture would be a desperate one, what was more fitting than that she should be filled with Irish soldiers (the Dublins and Munsters)—regiments with great fighting records; with them was also half a battalion of the Hampshire Regiment. Special preparations had been made to disembark the troops as quickly as possible. Great holes had been cut in the iron sides of the *River Clyde* and from these, gangways made of planking, which were of course lashed to the ship, sloped down in tiers to the water's edge. From the ends of these gangways a string of lighters stretched to the shore to enable the men to rush quickly to land.

In addition to those on the *River Clyde,* three companies of the Dublin Fusiliers were towed to the Beach in open boats and barges by little steam pinnaces. It had been intended that these should steal in during the dark hours just before dawn, but, owing to miscalculations of the speed of the current, or some other cause, the boats did not arrive in time and only reached the shore at the same moment that Commander Unwin, R. N., of the *River Clyde,* according to the prearranged plan, coolly ran his vessel aground. This manœuvre must have greatly astonished the Turks, but not a sound or move did they make, and

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it seemed at first as if the landing would not be opposed. As soon, however, as the Munsters began to pour from her sides, a perfect hail of lead opened on the unfortunate soldiers, who were shot down in scores as they raced down the gangway. Some who were struck in the leg stumbled and fell into the water, where, owing to the weight of their packs and ammunition, they went to the bottom and were drowned. For days afterwards, these unfortunate men could be seen through the clear water, many of them still grasping their rifles.

The men in the boats suffered equally heavily and had even less chance of escape. Many were mown down by rifle fire and sometimes a shell cut a boat in two and the unfortunate soldiers went to the bottom, carried down by the weight of their equipment.

The sailors who were detailed to assist in the landing performed some heroic deeds. Theirs was the task of fixing the lighters from the gangways of the *River Clyde* to the shore. Even in ordinary times, it would be a very difficult task, owing to the strong current which sweeps round from the Dardanelles, but to do it practically at the muzzle of the enemy's rifles, demanded men with the hearts of lions. Scores were shot down as they tugged and hauled to get the lighters into position. Scores more were ready to jump into their places. More than once the lighters broke loose and the whole perilous work had to be done over again, but our gallant seamen never failed. They just "carried on."

Those naval men whose duty it was to bring the Dublins ashore in small boats were shot down to a man, for there was no escape for them from that terrible fire. Both boats and crews were destroyed, either on the beach or before they reached it.

In spite of the rain of death some of the Dublins and Munsters succeeded in effecting a landing and making a dash for shelter from the tornado of fire under the little ridge of sand which, as I have already mentioned, ran round the beach. Had the Turks taken the precaution of levelling this bank of sand, not a soul could have lived in that fire-swept zone. More than half of the landing-party were killed before they could reach its friendly shelter and many others were left writhing in agony

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on that narrow strip of beach. Brigadier-General Napier and his Brigade Major, Captain Costeker, were killed, as was also Lieut.-Colonel Carrington Smith, commanding the Hampshires; the adjutants of the Hampshires and of the Munsters were wounded and, indeed, the great majority of the senior officers were either wounded or killed.

Many anxious eyes were peering out over the protected bulwarks of the *River Clyde,* and among them was Father Finn, the Roman Catholic Chaplain of the Dublins. The sight of some 500 of his brave boys lying dead or dying on that terrible strip of beach, was too much for him, so, heedless of all risk, he plunged down the gangway and made for the shore. On the way, his wrist was shattered by a bullet, but he went on, and although lead was spattering all round him like hailstones, he administered consolation to the wounded and dying, who, alas, were so thickly strewn around. For a time he seemed to have had some miraculous form of Divine protection, for he went from one to another through shot and shell without receiving any further injury. At last a bullet struck him near the hip, and, on seeing this, some of the Dublins rushed out from the protection of the sand-bank and brought him into its shelter. When, however, he had somewhat recovered from his wound, nothing would induce him to remain in safety while his poor boys were being done to death in the open, so out he crawled again to administer comfort to a poor fellow who was moaning piteously a little way off; and as he was in the act of giving consolation to the stricken man, this heroic Chaplain was struck dead by a merciful bullet.

Father Finn has, so far, been granted no V. C., but if there is such a thing in heaven, I am sure he is wearing it, and His Holiness Benedict XV might do worse than canonize this heroic priest, for surely no saint ever died more nobly: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

The Turkish position was so strong and they were able to pour down such a concentrated fire from pit, box, dress-circle, and gallery of their natural theatre, that every man of these gallant Irish regiments who showed himself in the open was

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instantly struck down. So hot and accurate was this close range Turkish fire that the disembarkation from the *River Clyde* had to be discontinued until nightfall.

It was not until after nightfall that the remainder of the Irishmen could disembark and then all the units had to be reorganized to enable them to make an attack on the formidable Turkish trenches on the following morning. Practically every officer of the Dublins and Munsters was either killed or wounded, very few escaped Scot free.

The landing on Y Beach was effected by the King's Own Scottish Borderers and the Plymouth Battalion of the Royal Marines. These splendid fellows forced their way into Krithia village, but want of ammunition and reinforcements obliged them to fall back to the beach, where they were almost overwhelmed by the enemy and lost more than half their numbers; eventually they were compelled to reëmbark, but not before they had done immense damage to the Turks and considerably helped the troops who were forcing the other landings.

Meanwhile the two Australian-New Zealand Divisions were engaged in the perilous enterprise of forcing a landing in the face of a large Turkish force at a place now known as Anzac (this word being formed from the initial letters of Australian-New Zealand Army Corps). In the dark hour before the dawn some four thousand of these splendid fighters were towed in silence towards the shore, and here again it seemed as if they would meet with no opposition; but not so—the Turk was not to be caught napping, and, while the boats were still some way from land, thousands of Turkish soldiers rushed along the strip of beach to intercept the boats, and the heavy fire which they opened caused very severe casualties in the ranks, but nothing could daunt Colonel Maclagan and the men of the 3rd Australian Brigade; the moment the boats touched the shore these dare-devils leaped into the water and with irresistible fury drove the Turks before them at the point of the bayonet. Nothing could stand up against their onslaught and by noon, having been reinforced, they had "hacked" their way some miles inland, put several Krupp guns out of action, and if they had been supported by even one more Division, the road to the Narrows

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would undoubtedly have been won. As it was, owing to lack of sufficient men to hold what they had made good, they were compelled to retire to the ridges overlooking the sea, and there for eight months they held the Turks at bay and hurled back, with frightful losses, every assault made on their position. Oh, if only the 29th Division had also been landed here, what a sweeping victory we would have won!

IV

I must say here that in my humble opinion the Navy failed us badly in the matter of tugs, lighters, and horse-boats. There were not nearly enough of these and we could have done with three times the number. My corps, which was most urgently wanted by the General, took three days to disembark, in spite of our most strenuous efforts to get ashore as quickly as possible. The delay was entirely due to the lack of tugs, for it was only now and then that a trawler could be spared to haul us inshore. We were sadly held up and kept waiting for hours after our boats had been loaded up, ready to be towed ashore.

Who was responsible for this shortage I do not know. It is, of course, quite possible that the Navy provided all the trawlers requisitioned for by the Army.

I shall never forget my first night in Gallipoli. We loaded up a couple of hundred mules, each mule carrying about 2,000 cartridges, and with Major O'Hara (now Lieut.-Colonel O'Hara) who was the D. A. Q. M. G., as guide, we marched off into the darkness to distribute ammunition along the front. We trudged together all through that trying night, so it is not much to be wondered at that we almost quarrelled once or twice —but I will say here that of all the men I met in Gallipoli, there was not one who was so capable at his job, or worked so hard to see that everything for which he was responsible ran smoothly. Soon after we left W Beach in the dark, it began to pour, and it poured and poured solidly for about five hours.

On we squelched through the mud over unknown tracks with the water streaming down our bodies and running in rivulets out of our boots. As soon as the rain ceased a biting cold wind

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set in, which froze us to the marrow. However, the vigorous walking, helping up a fallen mule, readjusting the loads, getting out of holes into which we had tumbled, etc., kept our circulation going, and when we arrived at a place known as Pink Farm, the farthest point to which we had yet advanced, there was a sudden alarm that the Turks were approaching. Nobody knew then where our front line was, or whether it linked up across the Peninsula. There were many gaps in it through which the Turks, if they had had initiative enough, might have forced their way, and inflicted a considerable amount of damage upon us before we could have organized adequate resistance.

Gongs could plainly be heard sounding, apparently close by, as though it were some pre-arranged signal of the enemy, but whatever the reason, we saw nothing of the Turks, and no attack was made, so we unloaded our ammunition and were then sent back for more.

When we got safely clear of this jumpy place, we found ourselves wending our way through some Turkish cemeteries, the tall, white, thin headstones, with their carved headlike top knobs, looking exactly like ghosts in the gloomy light. We passed through cypress groves, along sandy lanes, and rugged paths, fell into and scrambled out of dug-outs, ditches and dongas, where mules and loads tumbled about indiscriminately to the accompaniment of much profanity.

At one spot on this adventurous journey we came upon a battalion of Zouaves crouching down for rest and shelter in the lee of a hedge. The Sergeant in charge of my escort took them for Turks, and only that I was happily on the spot when he made this startling discovery, he would undoubtedly have opened fire on the Frenchmen. I must say that they looked exactly like Turks, owing to their semi-barbaric uniform.

When we got the convoy to where we thought the front line ought to be, we failed to find it, and as we were very hazy as to whether we would run into our own men or the Turks, we left the convoy under the cover of some trees, and O'Hara and I went off to reconnoitre. I believe we must have passed through a gap in our own line. At all events we wandered for some time, making many pauses to listen for any sound that might guide

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us, but the weird thing about it was, that the whole place was now still as death, though we must have been quite close to both armies. No doubt they were dead beat after the recent terrific fighting they had come through.

At last we luckily struck our own men, lining a shallow trench which had apparently been very hastily thrown up, for it scarcely afforded enough cover to shelter a decent sized terrier. The men were so exhausted with the continued strain and stress of the battle, which had been continuous since the morning of the 25th, that they slept as if they were dead. The sentries, of course, were on the alert, looking out grim and watchful at the Turkish line, which we could just make out in the struggling moonlight, apparently not more than 200 yards away.

When we topped the crest overlooking W Beach, a gleam of light was coming up out of Asia, telling us of the approach of dawn, and we felt, as we wearily trod down the slope to the beach, that we had done a hard and useful night's work.

V

Before dark that night we began to load up another big convoy of munitions and supplies for the trenches.

This proved to be one of the most weird nights of many that we have spent tramping up and down the peninsula.

Of course, we had to move off after dark, otherwise the Turks would have concentrated their artillery on us and we should all have been destroyed. We went from W to X Beach, along the Ægean shore, falling into trenches and dug-outs on the way, for the night was very dark, while every now and again we were caught up in Turkish wire entanglements. Then from X Beach we slowly pioneered our way through the trackless scrub and undergrowth until we came to the cliff which overlooks Gully Beach, at the mouth of a huge ravine which here opened into the Ægean Sea, some miles northwest of W Beach.

On the way we had to go through some of our own guns, which were in action on this side of the Peninsula, and I had to request the Battery Commander to cease fire while we were filing past, as I feared the roar and flash of the guns might stam-

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pede the mules. He let us through in silence, but we had scarcely got fifty yards from the muzzles when out belched the guns again, the roar of which at such close range, to my surprise, did not in the least upset the mules. I shall never forget our struggling down to the sea from the cliffs above the Gully. Of course there was no road then and we had to reconnoitre ahead in the dark every yard of the way. Often I had to turn back and call out to the men to halt as I found myself dangling on the edge of the cliff, holding on to the roots of the gorse, which fortunately grew there in profusion. After many mishaps, mules and supplies falling about among the ravines which scored the face of the cliff, we eventually reached the Beach.

Then began our march up the bed of the ravine, and although the Gully was very wide and there was ample room to march either to right or left of the stream, yet we knew nothing of this, for the ground was new to us and everything was pitch dark, so the only sure way of getting up the ravine in safety was to walk in the river bed. I led the way expecting all the time either to fall into a waterhole or be shot by an ambuscade of Turks. Cliffs loomed up on either side of us to a height of a hundred or more feet, and there was nothing to be seen but the faint twinkle of the stars overhead.

Now and again I called a halt to reconnoitre and listen for any suspicious movements ahead, as it was a most likely spot in which to be ambushed by the enemy. So far as I knew the Turks were in possession of the bank to my left, and all that part of the country right up to Anzac, where the Australians had landed. For a time everything was quiet as we splashed our way along, there being a lull just then in the fighting; all of a sudden it broke out again with feverish intensity. The Gully Ravine made a turn at one part of its course which took us right between the line of fire of the two opposing forces. Shells from our own guns screamed and passed safely over the ravine, but the shells from the Turkish batteries often burst exactly overhead, scattering shrapnel all round; at other times plunking into the cliff on our right and smothering us with clay and gravel. The rattle of musketry was like the continuous roll of kettle-drums, and considering all our surroundings, and the fierce

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fight that was going on, it was altogether a night to be remembered.

At last we reached the troops holding the front line; there were no supports or reserves, so far as I could see; every man had been put into the firing line owing to the terrible losses that had been sustained.

Here in the dark with shot and shell flying all round, we unpacked our mules and handed over the ammunition and food to the brigade.

I was right glad to be able to turn back and get my convoy safely away from the gloomy depths of this uncanny ravine.

We had again to climb the cliffs when we got back to the sea at the gully-mouth, and at the top again to negotiate our guns which were still blazing away for all they were worth. However, by dint of much shouting when I had crawled close enough to be heard, the gunners ceased fire just long enough to enable us to slip through.

These two nights are fair examples of the work done in those early days by the Zion Mule Corps, at that time the only Transport Corps on the peninsula at Helles.

VI

At this time, the whole of the Peninsula, from Cape Helles to Achi Baba, was one expanse of green pastures and cultivation, and the country looked exceedingly pretty. Quantities of beautiful flowers grew everywhere, so much so that some fields were a regular blaze of color, the western slopes of Achi Baba itself being beautified by gorgeous stretches of blood-red poppies. Groves of trees of various kinds were dotted about, while the olive and the almond flourished everywhere. Here and there were to be seen round masonry-topped wells, just like those pictured in illustrated Bibles, showing Rebecca drawing water for Abraham's servant—but, alas, here there was no Rebecca!

Before we left it, this smiling land became the most desolate, God-forsaken place that it is possible to imagine—nothing but row upon row of unsightly trenches, and not a single blade of grass anywhere to meet the eye.

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For our new encampment I chose a green level field, some two miles inland, and into this we moved on May 11th.

I had occasion to ride back to W Beach within a couple of hours after quitting our first encampment, and I heartily congratulated myself that we had cleared out of it, just in the nick of time, for the Turks had concentrated their guns on the place immediately after we had left. I counted no less than thirty holes through a piece of canvas that was stretched over the place where we had slept the night before. Had we still been there we must all inevitably have been blown to smithereens!

During the course of our stay here we gradually excavated and enlarged our dwelling and burrowed down into the ground, making a cellar into which we could retire in case the shelling became too hot, but, as a matter of fact, though the bombardment at times was hot enough to satisfy the most desperate fire-eater, we used our bomb proof entirely as a pantry, for which we found it most useful.

No sooner had we settled down to life in our new bivouac than the Turks began to annoy us by dropping shells into it and disturbing our peace of mind and body. On the morning following our arrival, while we were having breakfast under the spreading branches of our olive tree, a shrapnel burst, sending its bullets unpleasantly near. I remarked jocularly to the others that if the next shell came any closer we should have to move. Scarcely had I spoken when one went bang just over us and a bullet whizzed between our heads and smashed through the arm of my Orderly Room Sergeant, Abulafia, who at that moment was standing by my side taking some orders. It is a marvel how it missed hitting a member of our little mess, for we were all sitting very close together round an up-turned box which we were using as a breakfast table.

The same shell wounded two other men, besides killing and wounding half-a-dozen mules. We decided that the place was too hot for us, so, after helping our medical officer to dress the wounded, we finished our breakfast on the other side of a bank which ran along by our olive tree.

I set the men to work to dig themselves and the mules well into the bowels of the earth, and it was not long until a stranger

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visiting the place would be astonished if he were told that some hundreds of men and mules were concealed right under his very nose.

It was very funny to see the men sitting in rows along the banks of earth thrown up out of their "dug-outs" and watch them dive, like rabbits into their burrows, at the sound of an approaching shell; then, after the explosion, every one popped up again to see what damage had been done.

During the time they were camped there a shell would now and again plump right into a dug-out and then, of course, the unfortunate occupants would be blown about in little pieces all over the place. A hand was once blown down to my horse lines, some 150 yards away from where the shell had burst and shattered a man to atoms.

A German Taube for a time flew over our lines every morning long before sunrise, of course catching all our airmen napping. These visits were generally for observation purposes, but sometimes the Taubes would liven us up by dropping a few bombs. They made several shots at the French guns, but always missed. I saw a bomb land among a dozen French horses one day and every one of the unfortunate animals was terribly wounded. I never saw such a shambles, for the horses were in a dug-out close together for safety. The Zion lines had several close escapes, as did the Royal Naval Division Hospital which was close to us, and where Staff-Surgeon Fleming cheerfully and skilfully attended to our sick and wounded at all times of the day and night.

The Taube is a much more vicious looking machine than ours. It has a certain air of arrogance about it, entirely lacking in our type of aeroplane. It is not in the least like a dove, as the German name signifies, but appears to me very like a hawk, always ready to pounce on its prey.

Day by day, one kept missing friendly faces. I remember such a nice boy, belonging to one of the naval battalions, who used to pass my camp regularly with his platoon on their way to bathe on the beach. I never knew the boy's name, but he interested me as he was a bright, cheery, handsome youngster, who seemed to be on the best of terms with his men. One day

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there was a vigorous bombardment of his lines, and when next the platoon went by, the young officer was missing. He had been blown to pieces by a shell.

The Collingwood Battalion met with a very sad end soon after their arrival in my neighborhood. They were sent up to take part for the first time in an attack on the Turkish trenches and they were placed on our extreme right, linking up with the French. When the order came to charge, they went forward most gallantly, capturing, with little loss, two of the Turkish lines of trenches, Captain Spearman, well to the fore, leading his men. He got shot in the foot, but, ignoring it, dashed along, waving his hat in the air as he cheered his men to the assault. Unfortunately, owing to the conspicuous part he and his officers played in the attack (and it was necessary that they should do so, owing to the rawness of the men) he and practically all the other officers of the battalion were killed. Then some one, possibly a German, for there were several of them in the Turkish trenches round about, shouted out the fatal word "Retire." This was carried along the line and the men turned about and made back, helter skelter, for their own trenches, but in trying to gain them, they were practically annihilated by machine gun and rifle fire. I was particularly sorry for Captain Spearman, who had come to our dug-out on many occasions and had drunk an early cup of coffee with us only a few hours before he was killed.

In this disastrous retreat, the Collingwood Battalion was practically wiped out. The few survivors were transferred to another unit of the Royal Naval Division and the very name of this Battalion went out of existence.

VII

In our nightly journeys back from the trenches, we were always guided through the darkness to our camp by the brilliant glare of the lights from the warships, hospital ships, and transports, which lay thickly clustered round Cape Helles. It was a most beautiful sight, like a veritable floating Venice, but it was not practical and it was not war. It showed an arrogance and

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utter contempt of the enemy who was, at that very moment, stealthily stalking them under the seas with the deadly submarine.

At all events, the submarines came, with the result that the battleships *Goliath* and *Triumph* were sunk with appalling swiftness and great loss of life.

Then, and then only, did the fleet awaken to its danger; the battleships and cruisers vanished into the unknown, while the transports disappeared in a night and we felt, as it were, marooned on this inhospitable peninsula, from which the Turks had removed every living thing, save only a few dogs which were found to be so dangerous that they had to be shot at sight.

It was, therefore, with feelings of great pleasure that, as I rode down to W Beach on the evening of the 26th May, I saw the stately battleship, the *Majestic,* lying at anchor out in the roadstead, a few cable lengths from W Beach; and as I looked my heart grew glad within me, because there lay the ship in the open sea, exposed to any attack, and I felt that it would be impossible for the ship to lie thus, unless the German submarines which had sunk the other battleships a few days previously were either disposed of, or else some clever new defence had been designed, which made the *Majestic* immune from the deadly torpedo.

It was a cheering thought and it helped to enhance the beauty of the wondrous panorama which lay spread before my eyes.

Away to my left stood the quaint old ruined walls and towers of Sedd-el-Bahr, thrown into bold outline against the rippling waters of the Dardanelles, while further on the eye was caught by the green plains of Ilium, set in a tangle of hills, on the picturesque Asiatic coast. Ahead of me, to the south, glittered the soft sea, with Cape Helles jutting into it, like a rough brown hand thrust into a basin of shimmering quicksilver. Almost at my feet lay Lancashire Landing, busy with its hundreds of men and animals going to and fro, while away on my right sparkled the Ægean, with the Isles of Greece jutting out of it, like rugged giants rising from their ocean lair. To crown all, the sun was going down in a perfect blaze of color, tipping the crests of Imbros and Samothrace with a glint of gold, as it sank

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behind them into the sea. I have seen sunsets in many parts of the world, but never have I seen anything to equal the glorious lights and shades which at sundown are painted on the Ægean sky. If I were an artist, my ambition would be to go in the lovely autumn days on a pilgrimage to these shores and humbly try to put on my canvas the perfectly gorgeous but harmoniously blended rose, pink, scarlet, red, yellow, purple, green, amber and blue—a perfect intoxication of glorious colors which the imagination would be unequal to, unless they were absolutely thrown on the sky before one's own eyes. The magnificence of the sunsets seen from Gallipoli were the sum of what an ordinary mortal could conceive as a fitting setting for the splendor of God's Throne.

So it is to be hoped that the officers and crew of the *Majestic,* which was moored so peacefully amid such heavenly surroundings, took a soul-satisfying view of the glory around them, because, alas, for many of the poor fellows, it was the last sunset that would ever gladden their eyes, for, on the morning of the 27th, the ship was marked down by a German submarine and sent to its doom within four minutes of being struck.

I was attending to some routine work in my camp when I heard the terrific explosion and, looking up, saw a volume of smoke ascending to the heavens from W Beach. I jumped on my horse, which was ready saddled, close by, and galloped over to hear what had happened. When I topped the rise, all of the *Majestic* that I could see was a couple of dozen feet of its copper keel which projected above the water and which still remains thus—a mute witness to the fact that " some one had blundered."

Regrettable incidents like these should be unknown in a navy renowned for the good practical commonsense and thoroughness of its captains.

VIII

" From all forms of trench warfare, preserve us, O Lord," should be the humble prayer of every soldier, for it is about the most unpleasant, tiresome, humdrum, disagreeable, dangerous, death-without-glory kind of warfare which the evil genius of man could devise. As, however, it has come to stay, it may

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perhaps be of interest to describe what it was like in Gallipoli.

When, after the first battles, the Turks refused any longer to meet us in the open and took to the trenches, which they had, with great energy, dug right across the Peninsula, it became necessary for us to adopt the same mole-like tactics, and our advance was brought practically to a standstill. Instead of going ahead a couple of miles in a day's fight, it now became a question of taking one trench at a time, and often we did not gain as much as that, even after the most strenuous battles.

Long lines of trenches, from three to six or more feet deep, and three or four feet wide, were dug in zig-zags right across the Peninsula, more or less parallel to the Turkish lines, and behind these were similar support and reserve trenches; at the back of these again were second and third line defence trenches; while still further were the so-called rest trenches, but in Gallipoli these were just as dangerous as the front trenches, owing to the confined space in which the army was cooped up, and also owing to the configuration of the ground, which exposed them to fire from Achi Baba as well as from the guns in Asia. Some of our trenches were so deep that hundreds of scaling ladders were always kept in readiness to enable the men to swarm out quickly when an assault was to be made. Long lines of communication trenches ran up and down and to and fro, connecting the various lines of trenches and many of these were dug deep enough and wide enough to give ample cover for mules and horses. Various little back alleys were also dug in different directions, so that the whole face of the country was transformed into a veritable rabbit warren. These communication trenches were necessary so that reliefs, reinforcements, munitions, food and water could be taken up in safety to the firing line.

Where the ground was very hard and deep trenches could not be dug, the necessary cover was given by building parapets made of sandbags, little canvas bags about two feet long and ten inches across, which could easily be carried by one man when filled with sand or clay. These sandbags should be of different colors, because otherwise when one is taken out to make a loophole, the blank space is seen at once and the enemy's fire is con-

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centrated on it. In Gallipoli, our sandbags were all of the same color—brown canvas.

When an attack was made, and an enemy's trench was captured, thousands of these sandbags were carried forward and by piling them up, a new protective trench was rapidly constructed, for, of course, the original Turkish trench was always battered to pieces (or should have been) by high explosive shells before the attack was launched.

Another great use of the sandbag was to erect a barrier across an enemy communication trench, otherwise, of course, he could pour his troops down the communication alley and perhaps effect a surprise. It was exceedingly odd to see our sentry on one side of such a barrier and the Turkish sentry on the other side, apparently quite friendly in the intervals of bombing each other!

One day, a man of the Inniskilling Fusiliers played a trick on the Turkish sentry. Finding life rather monotonous, and being somewhat fed up with bully beef, he bored a hole in his tin, stuck a cartridge into it, and hurled the novel projectile over the sandbag barrier among the Turks, who could be heard flying for their lives away from it along the trench, evidently thinking it was some new form of diabolical bomb we had invented. Then one man, a little bolder than the rest, could be heard cautiously stalking it; he even threw stones at it and when these failed to cause an explosion, he plucked up enough courage to hook it towards him with his fixed bayonet. It was apparently sent off for investigation to some German professor in the rear, for some few hours later the Turkish sentry shouted out loudly over the parapet: "Bully beef, bully beef; throw us more," and this little incident led to many friendly exchanges of bully or cigarettes.

Life in the trenches when no *strafe* was on was very monotonous—dull, weary watching and waiting, with dust blowing into one's eyes and mouth and nose all the time, and flies everywhere. While in the trenches food had to be snatched when it was possible to get it. It was cooked some considerable distance to the rear and was then carried up to the trenches in great pots and there distributed, and in Gallipoli, of course, that meant

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dividing it between men and flies—the latter getting the lion's share during the months of June, July and August.

Of course, work was always going on. The trenches had to be carefully drained and sloped so as to allow the rainfall to flow off. If this were not properly done, they would inevitably be flooded out in the rains and life in them would be impossible. Even when every care was taken they sometimes became raging torrents. Much ground was made good by digging out from the trenches towards the Turkish lines and forming a fresh line of trenches closer to the enemy and in a better position.

Every yard in front of the trenches was guarded by barbed wire, sometimes left unrolled on the ground, where it naturally goes into coils and traps for the unwary, and sometimes interlaced on stakes, like a regular wire fencing, doubled many times. It was very dangerous work putting up this form of defence, and it was generally done at night, but even then the enemy could see our men by the light of the brilliant flares which were constantly sent up, for these remained in the air for several seconds, making everything as bright as day. The only chance of escape then was to lie flat down and remain perfectly still until the flare went out.

Then there was the constant arduous and dangerous labor of sapping, *i. e.*, tunnelling underground from our trenches underneath the Turkish trenches, making a huge cavity there, filling it with explosives and blowing the trench and such Turks as were in it sky high. This was generally done when an attack was made, so as to throw the enemy into greater confusion.

At night it was usual to man the front trenches fairly strongly, one-third of the force always being awake and on the look-out for the enemy.

Of course, it is almost certain death for a man to stand up and show his head and shoulders above the parapet line, so the watch on the enemy was kept by men with periscopes, who could watch every move in perfect safety. Even the periscopes were often shattered to pieces by the bullets of the Turks, which shows that some of them were good marksmen.

Telephone wires were laid everywhere in the trenches, and telephone operators and observing officers were scattered up and

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down the line. On the first sign of an enemy attack, these officers communicated with their batteries in the rear and within two seconds a curtain of fire was rained on the advancing foe, which, in most cases, he found it quite impossible to get through. If he ever succeeded, however, the infantry were by this time lining the parapets ready to mow down the enemy with rifle and machine gun fire, so the only marvel is that any of the assaulting force ever got through. A very rare occurrence, and those that did pierce the line never again got back to their own trenches.

One day, I went up to visit Lieutenant Davidson, who was Forward Observing Officer for his battery and he, having occasion to fire a gun, telephoned to the battery; it was a distinctly weird feeling to hear the scream of the shell from the guns two miles back flying close over our heads into the Turkish trenches in front of us, almost before Davidson had ceased speaking! At that same observation post, on the previous day, another R. H. A. Officer, Lieutenant Perceval, who also was a member of our little mess, had a very narrow escape. A Turkish shell came through, slightly bruised his shoulder, and killed his bombardier who was, at the moment, holding the telephone.

In the side of the trench next the enemy, little niches were excavated where men could lie and sit fairly well sheltered from wind and rain. These recesses were often used by the Turks as burial places for their dead. I remember on one occasion I was walking along a piece of the line which we had just taken from the Turks, when a shell exploded close to the trench. The concussion shook away some loose earth and out from the side of the trench popped a dead hand and arm!—just as if a policeman had put out his hand to stop the traffic. The dead Turk seemed to try, even in death, to bar the way to an enemy's approach.

A very disagreeable feature of trench life is the unpleasant odor of the dead, which penetrates everywhere, for, of course, when an attack is made by one side or the other hundreds may be killed close to the trenches, and as a rule it is impossible either to rescue the wounded or to bury the dead, because the enemy would inevitably shoot down any one attempting such a task.

One of the very worst trials of trench warfare is to see the

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dead body of a comrade lying out in the open, gradually fading away before one's eyes, a mummied hand still clutching the rifle, the helmet a little way off, looking ever so weird in its gruesome surroundings.

While in the trenches one is, of course, subject at all times to shells, rifle fire, mine explosions, poison gas, bombs, liquid fire and other diabolical inventions. The Turks, however, did not use either poison gas or liquid fire and, of course, neither did the British.

Worst trial of all is the trench mortar! This venomous weapon sends a bomb weighing a hundred pounds or more of the most deadly high explosive plumb into the midst of a trench with marvellous accuracy at any range up to 400 yards. The vicious thing can be seen soaring high up into the air, until it reaches a point directly overhead, then it hovers for a moment, like a hawk over its prey, and finally swoops down, pulverizing everybody and everything near which it explodes.

From my own observation of trench warfare, I would say unhesitatingly that no assault should be launched against the enemy until his trenches had been thoroughly pounded to pieces by high explosives, and his men demoralized by a constant stream of shells, and all wire entanglements or other barriers swept out of the way of the advance. Then, and then only, should the infantry attack be launched, but before doing so the supports and reserves should be brought up as close as possible to the firing line, because, in these days especially, the speed with which an assault can be reinforced makes all the difference between victory and defeat.

During the assault, the guns should be constantly playing on the reserve trenches of the enemy, the counter batteries (*i. e.*, those batteries told off to dominate enemy batteries) firing as fast as they possibly can to keep down enemy shrapnel fire and generally supporting the attack in every possible way. Special groups should always be told off (not single individuals) whose duty it is to signal back to the batteries the position which the front line has reached in the assault, otherwise, and I have seen it happen more than once, our own guns will be found playing on our own men.

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It is unwise to trust to telephone wires for passing signals back to the batteries, for they are often cut by shells or broken by passing troops. Aeroplanes fitted with wireless are most useful. Another good plan is to fasten some very conspicuous object, such as a large tin disc to the backs of the men, so that the gunners could always be able to tell at whom they were firing. The disc should be tied so that the men could switch it round to the front if they were forced to retire. This plan was adopted in Gallipoli towards the end of July with excellent results, for our men could always be made out by the flashing of the tin which, of course, the enemy could not see.

Bombs should always be carried with the assaulting columns, and the bomb throwers should not be hampered by a rifle, but should only be armed with revolver and bayonet, for when their stock of bombs is expended there are always plenty of rifles lying around belonging to the dead and badly wounded.

When all these arrangements have been completed, and a combined attack is made with shells, machine guns, rifle fire, trench mortars, poison gas, liquid fire, etc., the attack is almost certain to succeed at some point or other, and once the defender's line is broken, his whole line is threatened, and if the reserves are brought up and poured quickly enough into the breach, so as to get a wedge in between the enemy's forces, his army can then be smashed up in detail and a great victory won.

Cavalry can then burst through and once more come into their own by playing havoc with the enemy's lines of communications. Of course, in Gallipoli we had no cavalry—at least, such mounted men as we had came as infantry without horses! and I must say that they fought well, those yeoman from Bucks and Kent—the only pity is that we did not have more of them. When we did make a breach in the enemy's line, we never had enough troops to push through and so ensure a crushing victory.

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